

INFORMATION REPORT INFORMATION REPORT

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

50X1-HUM

COUNTRY USSR

REPORT

SUBJECT Soviet Version of the U-2 Incident

DATE DISTR. 9 June 1960

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REFERENCES

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THIS IS UNEVALUATED INFORMATION

ENCLOSURE(S) NOT MICROFILMED

1. ^{Imprison} translated copy of a book published in Moscow on 16 May 1960 entitled Aggressors Must be Sent to the Pillory: The Truth about the Provocative Intrusion of the American Plane into the Air Space of the USSR. The book was published by the Soviet Union of Journalists and contains 190 pages; 300,000 copies of the book were printed. It comprises factual and editorial comment, presenting the Soviet view of the incident and a number of extracts from purported comments made by various personalities in the United States which are highly critical of the U.S. Government handling of the incident, statements by KHRUSHCHEV and other prominent figures inside and outside the Soviet Union, texts of various Soviet notes of protest, extracts from unfavorable comments appearing in the Communist and non-Communist press, and a number of photographs purporting to show parts of the wrecked plane and its equipment. 50X1-HUM
2. The tone of the book follows the aggressive line adopted by KHRUSHCHEV at the outset of the incident. The book attempts to convey the impression that the United States Government is universally criticized and condemned for its part in the U-2 incident both by American and by world public opinion at large. In support of this thesis there are highly critical statements purportedly made by Cyrus EATON, Adlai STEVENSON, Leo SZILLARD, Harold STASSEN, Walter REUTHER, and quotations from the Conference of Young Democrats of the State of California, and of the National Secretariat of the Communist Party, USA, signed by Gus HALL.
3. Highlights of the book include the following:
 - First ²²~~32~~ pages are extracts from Khrushchev's speech in Moscow, 5 and 6 May
 - Page ²³~~33~~ is the speech of Grechko -- 6 May
 - Page ²⁴~~36~~ - extracts from Gromyko's speech -- 6 May
 - Page ²⁶~~38~~ is Khrushchev's speech at the Czech Embassy Party -- 9 May
 - Page ³⁴~~47~~ is the note of protest sent to the U.S. Government by the Soviet Government -- 10 May
 - Page ⁴⁰~~53~~ - Note of protest sent by the Soviets to Turkey -- 13 May

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STATE	ARMY	NAVY	AIR	FBI	AEC						
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 Page ~~56~~ - Note of protest sent to Pakistan -- 13 May
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 Page ~~58~~ - Note of protest sent to Norway -- 13 May
⁴⁷
 Page ~~62~~ - Press Conference in Moscow of Gromyko -- 11 May
⁵⁷⁻⁶¹
 Page ~~76-81~~ include Pravda article of 12 May
⁶³
 Page ~~83~~ - Khrushchev's Press Conference of 11 May in Moscow
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 Page ~~98~~ - Russian translations of various statements by the Department of State and Press Conferences, etc. (May be of interest to show the distortions.)
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 Page ~~112~~ - "Under the Fire of Criticism" -- Extracts of statements by various U.S. Senators and Congressmen
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 Page ~~116~~ - Statements by Cyrus Eaton, Adlai Stevenson, Leo Szilard, Harold Stassen, and Walter Reuther
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 Page ~~118-119~~ - Statement by the U.S. Communist Party
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 Page ~~120~~ - "The Truth ^{strikes home} is Piercing Your Eyes"
¹⁰⁰
 Page ~~122~~ - Walter Lippmann's article in the Herald Tribune of 10 May

 From there on are extracts from the Herald Tribune of 12 May, and commentary on same
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 Page ~~126~~ - "The Tragedy of President Eisenhower" by James Reston, NYT - 8 May, and commentary on same
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 Page ~~131~~ - Joseph Alsop's article in Herald Tribune -- 11 May and commentary
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 Page ~~140~~ - Article from NY Post -- 9 May
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 Page ~~142~~ - Article by Harry Franz, correspondent of the UP International
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 Page ~~145~~ - Extracts from the Wall Street Journal and News Week
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 Page ~~146-153~~, incl. - Extracts from press comments from various Satellites and Red China
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 Page ~~170-174~~, incl. - Article of Pravda, 14 May
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 Page ~~175~~ and ~~176~~ - Editorial in Pravda, 14 May

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Page 177-180, incl. - Comments by various Soviet citizens made during protest meetings through the Soviet Union

Page 181-188, incl. - Khrushchev's statement to the Western Powers at the Paris Conference -- 16 May.

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

TO THE PILLORY WITH THE AGGRESSORS

The Truth
about the Provocative
Invasion
by an American
Plane
of the Air
Space of the USSR

A Publication of the Union of Journalists of the USSR

Moscow 1960

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Introduction

This book tears the cover off of one of the most flagrant international provocations of the post-war period - the piratical invasion by an American espionage plane into the air space of the Soviet Union. It exposes the policy of the ruling circles of the USA which is endangering the cause of peace.

The reader will find here speeches by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, regarding the piratical acts of United States aviation, notes of protest from the Soviet government to the governments of the USA, Turkey, Pakistan, and Norway, as well as other documents.

The reader will be made familiar with countless facts concerning American policy for military provocations, with various evaluations and opinions of foreign observers and of those who represent large social groups, and with the commentary of the world's press regarding this matter.

A number of candid statements of the enemies of peace and international cooperation are reproduced in this book. These statements once again emphasize how impudent the adherents of the "cold war" have grown.

Incontrovertible facts accuse the leaders of the USA of conducting espionage and diversionist acts as government policy, of legalizing a piratical raid to others' homes, of grossly trampling on the sovereignty of other states and peoples, and of defaming the UN Charter. Not one friend of peace will be able to ignore these accusatory facts. We must bridle these high-handed provocateurs! We must put an end to their piratical activities! -- That is the angry demand of all who value peace.

In publishing this book, the Union of Journalists of the USSR is pursuing the goal of telling the truth concerning American policy of military provocation.

THIS WAS THE FLIGHT OF A CONTEMPORARY BANDIT

From the Report of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev to the Fifth Session
of the Supreme Soviet USSR, Fifth Convocation
on 5 May 1960

Comrade deputies, on instructions of the Soviet Government I must inform you about the aggressive activities of the United States which took place in recent weeks and which were aimed against the Soviet Union.

How did these aggressive actions manifest themselves? They manifested themselves in the fact that the United States sent its aircraft to cross our state frontiers and invade the territory of the Soviet Union.

We had protested to the United States in the past about certain similar acts, and we reported them to the U. N. Security Council. Usually, the United States made a formal response and tried in every possible way to deny the acts of aggression, although the proofs were irrefutable. And when we rebuffed those aggressive actions and the United States suffered losses in the form of aircraft shot down, it hypocritically protested and even lodged claims demanding compensation for its losses.

The last but one aggressive act was committed by the United States on April 9, 1960. A U. S. aircraft invaded the airspace of our country from the direction of Afghanistan. Naturally, no person of commonsense could think or suspect that this violation was carried out by Afghanistan, a country which is friendly toward us. We are convinced that this aircraft belonged to the United States and was evidently based somewhere on the territory of Turkey, Iran, or Pakistan, all of which are linked to the United States by obligations in the aggressive CENTO bloc.

When this invasion occurred, some of our comrades raised the question as to whether the United States should be warned. Such acts could in no way be reconciled with the talks we had with the U. S. President and other U. S. statesmen during our visit to the United States.

We reached agreement with the U. S. President on the summit conference, and this conference is, as the saying goes, literally around the corner (na nosu). The aggressive invasion of the confines of a foreign country is poor preparation for such a meeting.

The conference of heads of government is to pursue the aim of relaxing international tension, liquidating the state of cold war, ending the arms race, achieving total general disarmament, settling questions of the German peace treaty and West Berlin -- all that is impeding the normal, peaceful coexistence of countries with different social and political systems.

We exchanged views within the government and decided not to take any special measures, not to write notes or memoranda because from previous experience we knew that this leads to virtually nothing. Aggressive quarters consider themselves to be stronger and act according to the principle: The weaker complains about the stronger, the stronger pays no attention and continues his impudent acts. We then gave a stern warning to our military, especially those who are directly responsible for the aerial defense of the country, that they must act resolutely and not permit the invasion of our airspace by foreign planes to go unpunished. (Voices: Correct, correct! Prolonged applause).

The American military evidently liked the impunity which they experienced April 9, and they decided to repeat their aggressive act. For this purpose they selected May Day, the most solemn occasion for our people and for the working people of all countries, the international holiday of the fraternal solidarity of the working class. On that day, early in the morning, at 0536 Moscow time, an American aircraft crossed our frontier and continued its flight into the interior of our country.

This aggressive act was immediately reported to the government by the minister of defense. A message from the government said: The aggressor knows what he is doing when he invades another's territory. If he remains unpunished he will launch new provocations; therefore action should be taken, and the aircraft shot down. This task was carried out and the aircraft was shot down. (Stormy prolonged applause, Voices: Correct, correct! Shame to the Aggressors!).

The first investigation revealed that the plane belonged to the United States even though it had not identification marks; the identification marks had been painted over. (Exclamations of indignation. Voice: "How is this reconciled with the unctuous speeches of President Eisenhower? You know, this is out and out piracy!") A commission of experts is now studying all the data in our possession. It has been established that the plane crossed the state frontier of the Soviet Union from either Turkey, Iran, or Pakistan, as did the plane of April 9. And they are called our "good neighbors."

After studying all the data in our possession, the Soviet Government will send a stern protest to the U. S. and will warn it that if such aggressive actions against our country continue, we retain the right to reply to them by the measures we deem necessary to take to guarantee the security of our country. (Long and loud applause)

We think that we will give the most severe warning also to those countries which place their territories at the disposal of the United States for aggressive actions against our country. (Exclamations! "Correct! long applause).

We are of the opinion that an incident of the kind which occurred on May 1 will attract the attention of all the countries of the world, as it is a very alarming sign. Imagine what would have happened if a Soviet aircraft had appeared, for instance, over New York, Chicago, or Detroit and flew over these cities. How would the United States react? U. S. officials have stated more than once that they have on duty bombers with atomic and hydrogen bombs which, with the approach of a foreign aircraft, would take off and proceed in the direction of a bombing target fixed for each of these bombers. This would mean the beginning of war. One would like to ask those American officials: If you intend to take such unilateral measures in the case of a supposed act of aggression against your country, they why do you not think that we may reply with the same measures if a foreign aircraft threatening the security of our motherland appears over our own country? (Prolonged applause)

For we do not lack those rights on the basis of which you wish to act in such cases. We believe no one doubts that we have something with which to reply. (Applause)

True, we have no bombers on duty, but we do have duty rockets, which arrive accurately and inevitably at their set target and will work better and more reliably than duty aircraft. (Applause)

Comrade deputies! I believe that from this high rostrum one must issue the most serious warning to those countries, too, which place their territories at the disposal of aggressive forces and thus make it easier for these forces to act against us. The governments of these countries should have understood long ago that they are playing with fire; for retaliatory blows will hit these countries too, and they will pay for the shortsighted actions of their governments which place their territories at the disposal of the aggressive forces of third-party states. (Applause)

The incident involving the penetration of our country's boundaries by a U. S. aircraft is very alarming. That is why we will put before the Security Council the problem of achieving an end to the aggressive actions on the part of the United States, as such actions are fraught with great danger.

It is difficult to know how to assess such actions of the aggressive circles of the United States. On May 16, at the conference of heads of government, we must meet U. S. President Eisenhower. And two weeks before that, the U. S. Air Force carried out an aggressive action against the USSR.

What is this? Congratulations on May Day? Did those who sent the aircraft not understand what they were doing? Probably they hoped they would go unpunished, thought that the aircraft which they sent out for predatory purposes would come back. But such actions are incompatible with the aims set before the heads of government whose meeting is to take place in Paris. One cannot help drawing the conclusion that the aggressive imperialist forces of the United States have recently been taking most active steps to thwart the conference of heads of government, or at any rate to prevent the reaching of agreements which the whole world is awaiting. The question arises: Who sent this plane which invaded the confines of the Soviet Union?

Was it sent with the sanction of the commander in chief of the U. S. armed forces, who as is known, is the President, or was this act of aggression perpetrated by the Pentagon militarists without the knowledge of the President? If such acts are perpetrated by the U. S. brasshats (voenshchina) at their own risk, this must cause particularly deep anxiety to world public opinion.

Perhaps as the result of the friendship which is at present being established between the United States and Franco, U. S. militarists have decided to act on their own, as the Spanish military junta did when it opposed the lawful government of Spain. In the so-called free world, military dictators not infrequently establish their rule by Franco's methods.

But the peoples are beginning to understand where true freedom is and where there is tyranny.

Take, for instance, the events in South Korea. The head of the puppet Syngman Rhee regime, the best friend of the United States and the father of his country as someone or other called him in America, has now been overthrown by the people and is now a political corpse. And it was not the Communists who were behind these events; even American political leaders have had to admit.

The sufferings of the Korean people led them to rise up against the bestial yoke. The uprising was for a time chaotic and disorganized. And the peoples understand that it was not only a question of Syngman Rhee himself who was to blame but all those who supported him and hung him round the necks of the South Koreans.

It is no coincidence that the free world sees so many popular demonstrations demanding freedom.

Comrade Deputies, the impression is being formed that the aggressive actions newly undertaken by the United States against the Soviet Union are a foretaste of the summit meeting.

Are they taken in order to exert pressure on us and to attempt to frighten us with their military superiority in order to undermine our determination to work for easing tension, to eliminate the cold war and to put an end to the arms race?

All these missions are sent in order to prevent any agreement on vexing questions, for we cannot say that this aircraft was a harbinger of peace, that it was on a goodwill mission. No, it was a real bandit flight with aggressive intentions.

We can say to those gentlemen who sent the aircraft that if they think they can bend our knees and our backs by means of such pressure, this will have no effect on us. The Soviet Union has every means to give a rebuff to those who want to exert pressure in order to achieve a solution convenient to aggressors.

In the name of the Soviet Government let me express thanks to the men of the military units who carried out with honor the task laid on them in defending the frontiers of our motherland.

From ancient times, it has always been the custom of the Russian people and the Soviet peoples to welcome guests with bread and salt. However, those who invade the confines of our country with weapons in hand have always been met with a weapon and have been destroyed. (Applause). It is not without reason that the people have always said, "Who comes to us with a sword, will die with a sword." (Applause)

Comrades, the Soviet people and Government have always expressed their peaceful intentions and friendly feelings toward the United States, but in answer to this we have black ingratitude.

'Feelings of Indignation'

It is understood that this has aroused feelings of indignation against the activities of the American military men. But we must control this feeling and must be ruled not by our emotions, but by reason.

Government leaders interested in preserving peace must soberly consider the consequences of such actions and think what they might lead to.

Hitler's aircraft before the war used to intrude into our airspace. The Soviet Government would protest, but Hitler refused to pay attention and then attacked us. And where did that all end?

How do we assess the incursion of American aircraft -- as a precursor of war or a foreshadow of attack, of the repetition of what Hitler did? The Soviet Government thinks that all the same there is no reason to draw such conclusions.

There is another relationship of power in the world, and in this the people's will to peace plays a great part and this is why we do not conclude that this is a prewar trial of strength or a reconnaissance made to try our nerves, preserve the atmosphere of the cold war so that the imperialists can continue to bind their peoples with taxation, to carry on the arms race and to keep their people in a state of fear of war and to continue to impose their will.

The Soviet Union has no aggressive intentions, we do not want the cold war, we want disarmament and our proposals made to the United Nations on this subject remain in force still. Once again, we repeat that disarmament is the right way to preserve peace and in such conditions no country would be able unilaterally to arm and attack another. The Soviet Government once again calls on the Government of the United States to end the cold war. All states must act peaceably so that calm, peace and happiness can prevail. (Prolonged applause).

We declare to the people of the United States of America that in spite of the aggressive actions which were taken with respect to our country, we have not forgotten the friendly meetings we had when we were visiting America. And indeed I firmly believe that the American people, with the exception of a few imperialistic, monopolistic circles, want peace and want friendship with the Soviet Union. And that is our feeling with regard to the Americans. But the aggressive actions on which I have made my report must make even the American people wonder.

All people to whom peace is dear and who do not spare any effort to ensure peace and to do away with the "cold war" must redouble their efforts in order to halt aggressive actions and to call the lovers of military adventure to strictest order so that they will not be able to drag people into a world rocket and nuclear war. It is true that the aggressors themselves will perish in such a war, but for the most part it will be the people who will pay with their blood.

We want peace. But to strive for peace is not to ask for peace. Peace must be won. And we can win peace in labor as we increase the might of our country, in developing newer and better weapons, in raising the economic level, in developing technology, science, and in developing new machinery which will lighten man's burden and insure the satisfaction of material and spiritual wants of the people. If the western powers do not wish to disarm, then our soldiers, our officers, our Soviet army must have the best weapons in the world and in quantity sufficient for dealing a mortal blow to any aggressors if they bare their sabers against Soviet countries or against other socialist countries. (Stormy applause.)

The socialist world is hateful to imperialists: Marxist-Leninist science is hateful to them. This is their own personal affair, but it is not cause for unleashing a war. We also do not have much sympathy for capitalism, but we don't want to use weapons to force other countries to adopt our system. Let capitalism live out its time like an old horse

which becomes decrepit and finally turns up his toes, and is pitched over a cliff by his master. The more imperialism displays its irreconcilable contradictions which will bring poverty and war to the people, the faster it exposes itself and its ulcers, the faster will it provoke the people's hatred who live in the imperialistic countries. Imperialism, in worsening the international situation, in creating all the crises and dangers that it can for the cause of peace, is stirring up the people's hatred, and will dig its own grave. (Applause.)

Comrade deputies! Our government conducts a clear and consistent policy of peaceful coexistence. This is the policy of Lenin; we will stand by it and will do everything we can to find a way of resolving the problems existing between states through negotiations. But if anyone even so wants by conducting a tough policy "from a position of strength" to weaken the socialist countries, not realizing that the game is up, we say to him: the time has passed.

We were not born to the accompaniment of church bells. Our socialist country was born to the gunshots of "Aurora," and we have grown strong fighting with interventionists and the counter-revolution within our borders which had the full support of the imperialistic countries. The Soviet people won and built a mighty socialist state. (Prolonged applause.)

Now voices are being raised to say that the Soviet Union is not quite as powerful as it likes to pretend. To a certain degree, the motifs which sounded before the Second World War from Hitler are being repeated. He also asserted that the Soviet Union was a colossus on clay feet, but his own hide felt the might of the Soviet state. The one who represented the Soviet Union as a colossus on clay feet has long since rotted in the earth, but the Soviet Union sent its state pennant to the moon as a symbol of the unprecedented development of socialist economy, science and culture, of the daring flight of the creative genius of our people. (Stormy applause.)

We are going to the conference in Paris with a clear conscience and with good intentions. We shall spare no effort to reach mutually acceptable agreement. But we must make a sober analysis of what is possible and note that there are signs foretelling that these talks may not satisfy the aspirations of the people of the whole world who yearn to live in peace.

We have made and will continue to make every effort to achieve a resolution of those problems which can no longer be put off, through the medium of negotiations. Most of all, we would be very happy if something better would take place, that is to say if trust between the representatives of powers participating in the conference of heads of state could be achieved. However, it would not be wise to let ourselves be lulled to sleep in the grip of false illusions. As they used to say, "Trust in God, but don't make any mistakes yourself."

Therefore, we will assume that talks are to take place at the summit conference with regard to certain important problems which await resolution. But if they want to play jokes on us, if they think that the gathering is only to demonstrate their strength and to wrest some one-sided concessions from the Soviet Union, nothing will come of it all. (Prolonged applause.) Whoever cherishes such plans, let him be told that he doesn't stand a chance of getting what he wants. (Applause.) We will rely on our forces, on the boundless opportunities of our socialist regime. (Applause.)

We will continue to go along the paths of peace, to develop our economy, to raise the standard of living for our people, and to strengthen the defense of the Soviet Union. We won out in the second world war and we have overcome its consequences. Now the Soviet Union, the whole socialist camp, is in the full flower of its strength and can contend with the capitalistic world. The imperialist powers cannot exhaust the strength of our people. We believe that victory will be ours, that reason will conquer, and that our peaceful aspirations will conquer. If the talks are not successful, people of the whole world will know who is to blame for this. (Applause.)

The Soviet government is undeviating in its attempts to liquidate international tensions. But the liquidation of tensions is not a formless idea; it must find its expression in concrete acts. The Soviet government assumes -- and I am convinced that that is your opinion also, comrade deputies, and the opinion of all Soviet people -- that serious effort must be made at the forthcoming summit meeting for strengthening the peace and that at this conference, the participants will be called upon to lay the foundation of healthier and truer peaceful relations between states. (Applause.)

Comrades! Our country has achieved historic victories. Soviet scientists and engineers working from Tsiolkovskiy's theories have achieved enormous successes in the conquest of the cosmos. They have done this because our state, our people, have provided them with every opportunity for fruitful scientific work and for great discoveries.

In order to send off the first artificial earth satellites and to launch a rocket into the cosmos, it was necessary to outfit it with reliable engines, to select the proper fuel and to install advance equipment so that the rocket would develop the necessary speed and would be able to overcome the force of the earth's gravity.

All this was done. A Soviet rocket became the first artificial planet of the solar system created by the hand of man. Our second rocket delivered the Soviet state's pennant to the moon. The third Soviet cosmic rocket photographed the other side of the moon. Soviet people once again demonstrated to the whole world their great strength and the inexhaustible opportunities of our socialist regime. (Applause.)

It is the same way with the life of mankind, with the development of society. The Soviet people after finishing the great socialist revolution and taking power into their own hands, laid out the road for the construction of our society. Guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism, they made great conquests. Now many peoples of Europe and Asia are going along the same path. In developing their own socialist economy, culture, science, and technology, they, figuratively speaking, have been pulled from their bent toward capitalism in overcoming their inheritance and habits of the old, exploiting regime, and have gone forward in their own socialist orbit, moving swiftly forward on the broad road of socialist construction. (Prolonged applause.)

Now, when the Soviet Union and all the countries of socialism have achieved such outstanding successes, when they have established the conditions for a rapid future development, when intelligentsia of the people has been raised up, and a new people has grown up building a new life under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, is it possible that our socialist world which is ever moving forward cannot keep pace with the decrepit capitalist world? (Applause.)

The imperialists do not have the strength to hold back the development of socialist countries confidently going forward to a bright future for mankind -- to communism. (Applause.)

Comrade deputies! One can say with assurance that the questions which will be discussed by the Supreme Soviet will provoke feelings of great pride for all Soviet people. Again and again every Soviet person will say to himself: yes, it was not for nothing that all the years were spent; our will and labor have really created a marvel of marvels in this Soviet land. (Prolonged applause.)

Under the banner of Lenin, under the leadership of the Communist Party, we shall go forward to new victories in the building of communism. (Stormy, prolonged applause. Everyone stands up.)

DON'T PLAY WITH FIRE, GENTLEMEN

**From the Concluding Words of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev
to the Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet USSR,
Fifth Convocation on 7 May 1960**

Comrade deputies, the aggressive act committed by the American airforce against the Soviet Union has justifiably incensed deputies and all Soviet people. Numerous inquiries and appeals are being received by the session and the Soviet Government. In view of this, permit me to dwell on this question once again and to furnish certain new data.

After my report to the Supreme Soviet, in which I dwelt on this fact, the U.S. State Department claimed in an official press statement that the point in question was a violation of the Soviet state frontier by an American aircraft of the Lockheed U-2 type, which allegedly was studying weather conditions in the upper layers of the atmosphere in the area of the Turkish-Soviet frontier. This plane had allegedly strayed off its course because the pilot had oxygen trouble.

The State Department asserts that the pilot lost consciousness and steered by its automatic pilot, the plane flew into Soviet territory. According to the State Department, the pilot only had time to report back about the failure of his oxygen equipment to the Turkish airfield in Adana, whence it flew, an airfield which allegedly does not belong to the military, but to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

Soon after that, NASA issued a statement confirming the State Department version. This statement says:

"One of NASA's U-2 research airplanes, in use since 1956, in continuing the program of studying wind and meteorological conditions at high altitudes has been missing since about 9 o'clock, May 1 (local time), when its pilot reported he was having oxygen difficulties over Lake Van, Turkey."

Comrades, I must tell you a secret: When I was making my report I deliberately did not say that the pilot was alive and in good health and that we have parts of the plane. We did so deliberately, because had we told everything at once the Americans would have invented another version.

And now, just look how many silly things they have said--Lake Van, scientific research, and so on, and so forth. Now that they know the pilot is alive they will have to invent something else. And they will do it.

The statement says further: "The airplane had taken off from Incirlik air base, Turkey. The flight plan called for the first checkpoint to be at 37 degrees, 25 minutes North; 41 degrees, 23 minutes East, and for a left turn to Lake Van beacon, thence to Trabazon beacon, thence to Antalya, and return to Adana."

These are the "accurate" data they have given. A little bit later I shall tell how the matter actually stood.

"The flight schedule was estimated at 3 hours, 45 minutes, for a total of 1,400 nautical miles. Takeoff was set for 8 a.m. (local time).

"About one hour after takeoff, the pilot reported difficulties with his oxygen equipment. Using an emergency radio frequency, he reported he was headed for the Lake Van beacon to get his bearings, and that he would return to Adana.

"As indicated above," the statement says further, "his flight plan called for him to make a left turn at Lake Van beacon. His last report indicated he was attempting to receive that beacon. It is believed he probably was on a northeasterly course, but there was no further word. Aerial search was begun soon after the receipt of the last communication. The Lake Van area is mountainous and very rugged." The statement about the mountainous Lake Van area is quite correct.

"No evidence has been cited of an aircraft having crashed." This is also correct, because this plane could not have crashed there.

Then the statement describes in detail the instrumentation carried by the plane and the "peaceful" purposes of its flight. Permit me to give one more quotation:

"The instrumentation carried by the U-2 is designed to obtain more precise information about clear air turbulence, convective clouds, wind shear, jet stream, and such widespread weather patterns as typhoons."

Indeed, the State Department launched a "typhoon."

"The airplane also has been used by NASA to obtain information about cosmic rays and the concentration of certain elements in the atmosphere including ozone and water vapor." (Animation in the hall).

This is the official version, circulated by American officials to mislead public opinion in their country and the world. I must declare, comrade deputies, that these versions are completely untrue and circulated for gullible people.

The authors of these versions supposed that if the plane was shot down the pilot must probably perish. So there would be no one to ask how everything actually happened; there would be no way to check what sort of plane it was and what instruments it carried.

First of all, I wish to announce that the pilot of the downed American plane is alive and in good health. He is now in Moscow. Brought here also are the remains of this plane and its special instrumentation, discovered during the investigations.

The name of the pilot is Francis Harry Powers. He is 30 years old. He says he is a 1st lieutenant in the U.S. Airforce, where he served until 1956, that is, to the day when he went over the Central Intelligence Agency.

Francis Powers reported, incidentally, that while serving with the American airforce he used to get 700 dollars a month, but when he went over to the intelligence service and started carrying out spying assignments to glean secret information he began getting 2,500 dollars a month.

That is how capital buys lives, buys people. (Noise in the hall.).

The flier testified that he had had no dizziness, nor had his oxygen apparatus failed. He was flying along the assigned course, accurately executing his chief's orders, switching on and off the equipment over preselected targets to glean intelligence on the Soviet Union's military and industrial establishments, and flew on until the very moment his piratical flight into this country's interior was cut short.

I want to tell you something about the results of the examination of the plane that has been shot down and its equipment, and results of questioning the pilot. The inquiry continues, but already the picture is fairly clear.

To start with, this was, indeed, a high altitude, lowspeed Lockheed U-2. They counted on its high altitude and believed that this plane could not be brought down by any fighter or antiaircraft artillery. That is why they thought it could fly over Soviet territory with impunity. In fact, the plane flew at a great altitude, and it was hit by the rocket at an altitude of 20,000 meters. (Stormy applause). And if they fly higher, we will also hit them! (Prolonged applause).

The plane was in no way equipped for "upper atmosphere research" or for taking "air samples," as official American spokesmen assert. Not at all. This was a real military reconnaissance aircraft, fitted with various instruments for collecting intelligence and, among other things, for aerial photography.

The competent commission of experts which examined the wrecked plane has established from the documentary evidence that this American plane is a specially prepared reconnaissance aircraft. The task of the plane was to cross the entire territory of the Soviet Union from the Amirs to Kola Peninsula to get information on our country's military and industrial establishments by means of aerial photography. Besides aerial cameras, the plane carried other reconnaissance equipment for spotting radar networks, identifying the location and frequencies of operating radio stations, and other special radio-engineering equipment.

Not only do we have the equipment of that plane, but we also have developed film showing a number of areas of our territory. Here are some of these photos. (Khrushchev showed the photos).

Here are photos of these airfields. Here are two white lines. They are lines of our fighters. Here is another airfield and also planes on it. All these films we developed ourselves. I hand these photos to Comrade Lobanov--let him sort them out. Here are photos of gasoline stores. It must be said that the camera is not a bad one and the photo is very accurate. But I must say that our cameras take better pictures are more accurate, so that we gained little in this respect. (Laughter) These photos here show industrial enterprises. Comrade chairman, please take these photos too.

There is also a tape recording of the signals of a number of our ground radar stations. These are incontestable evidence of the spying done by the American plane shot down in the vicinity of Sverdlovsk. (Animation)

These are the "air samples" the American reconnaissance plane took, and it took them not over Lake Van in Turkey, but somewhere entirely different. The version that the pilot suffered from dizziness because his oxygen equipment failed appears to have been born in the U.S. State Department and the Pentagon as a result of the sudden shock which beset them because the bandit flight into Soviet territory failed and became known to the whole world. [Applause] The persons involved in this predatory flight have invented nothing but a stupid version to the effect that it was allegedly a meteorological aircraft, and when the oxygen equipment failed and the pilot fainted, the aircraft, out of control, dragged the pilot against his will into Soviet territory. What innocence!) (Animation in the hall).

The only thing that is true is that this plane was stationed at the American-Turkish air base in Incirlik, east of Adana. As Powers, the flier, testified, he was serving with the 10-10 unit which, for the sake of disguise, is under control of NASA, but in reality, conducts high-altitude military reconnaissance.

In his depositions, Powers mentioned the names of several officers he had served with at the American military base in Turkey. According to Powers' testimony, the commander of the American 10-10 unit is Col. William Shelton, and his deputy is Lt. Col. Carol Funk. Before his flight, Powers had long trained for flying into the depth of this country, and, as he said himself, had flown along the Soviet frontier many times to study the radar system of the Soviet Union. On Apr. 27 Powers, the scout, flew over from Turkish city of Adana to the Peshawar airfield in Pakistan on orders from his superiors.

It was, therefore, from Pakistani territory, that is from the Peshawar airfield, and not from the Turkish airfield outside Adana, as stated in the State Department version, that Powers took off May 1 with instructions to fly along the course indicated on his map over the Aral Sea, Sverdlovsk, and other points, and reach Archangel and Murmansk, before landing at Bude airfield in Norway.

Now we can state his destination. I must admit that we knew it when I was reporting this fact. We did not say anything at that time in order to see what the Americans would invent. Now that they have made their invention we report how everything actually happened.

This is what Powers said when questioned about the task of his flight over Soviet territory:

"I was to take off from the Peshawar airfield in Pakistan, cross the national frontier of the USSR, and fly across Soviet territory to Norway--Bude airfield. I was to fly over certain points of the USSR, of which I remember Murmansk and Archangel. During my flight over Soviet territory I was to switch on and off the equipment over certain points indicated on the map. I believe my flight over Soviet territory was meant for collecting information on Soviet guided missiles and radar stations."

I want to ask the gentlemen of the State Department: Are these the "air samples over Lake Van" that the spy flier Powers was to take?

I say nothing of the fact that by flying along this course the American scout plane grossly violated the national sovereignty of Afghanistan by flying over that country's territory without permission. But there is, perhaps, nothing extraordinary in this concerning the morals of American militarists. Such actions of theirs have long been known.

Suffice it to recall the flight of American military aircraft over the territory of Austria, when the aggression was being prepared against Iraq, just after the revolution. The Austrian Government protested against the treacherous violation of Austria's sovereignty by American military aircraft and against that blatant act of disrespect for its neutrality, sealed by the signatories of the United States, among others.

If one believes the version that the pilot lost consciousness because of oxygen trouble and that the aircraft was subsequently controlled by the automatic pilot, one must also believe that the aircraft controlled by an automatic pilot flew from Turkey to Pakistan, touched down at Peshawar airport, stayed there three days, took off early on the morning of May 1, flew over the territory of Afghanistan, crossed the Soviet frontier, and flew more than 2,000 kilometers over our territory for a total of some four hours. Throughout the flight over our territory the aircraft was under observation and was brought down as soon as the order was received. (Applause)

When our anti-aircraft rocket battery intercepted and brought down the plane, the pilot, it must be believed, soon regained his consciousness because he bailed out by parachute. You note he was not ejected by an automatic device, but left through the upper canopy designed for, emplaning. The question arises: Why did he do this if there are devices for rapid ejection? **(Noise in the hall).**

Possibly he did this because there was an explosive charge in the aircraft which was to have blown up the plane as soon as the pilot was ejected. The pilot knew this and possibly was afraid that he would be killed in the explosion. **Clever enough! (Animation in the hall).**

But the installation of the infernal machine was not the only precaution taken. To cover up the tracks of the crime, the pilot was told that he must not be taken alive by Soviet authorities. For this reason he was supplied with a special needle. He was to have pricked himself with this poisoned needle, with a result of instantaneous death.

What barbarism! **(Shouts in the hall: Shame!)**

Here is this instrument--the latest achievement of American technology for killing their own people. **(Khrushchev produces a photo of the poisoned needle--TASS)**

But everything alive wants to live, and when the plane was brought down the pilot bailed out by parachute. And when he landed he did not follow the advice of those who sent him on his anti-Soviet predatory assignment, but remained alive.

It is alleged that the flight was made for scientific purposes to investigate the upper layers of the atmosphere. The question arises: Why the pilot then had to be armed with a pistol equipped with a silencer? He was given it for some emergency, not to take air samples, but to blow people's brains out. All this we shall present to the public as material evidence. This is what, so to speak, such Christians are like! He was given this pistol after making low bows as they do in churches. And yet they call us godless atheists. But we have never committed such crimes against humanity and never will. **(Stormy applause).**

If the pilot was given a pistol to defend himself against wild beasts in case of a forced landing, the question arises: Why a pistol with a silencer? This also shows what so-called scientific purposes were pursued by the plane. The pilot who was supposed to explore the atmosphere was given 7,500 rubles in Soviet currency. The question arises: When and where was he to have spent them, and for what purposes? For he did not fly to exchange old rubles for new. **(Burst of laughter, Stormy applause).**

The pilot was also given French gold francs. I have seen these gold francs with my own eyes. And you can see them here in the photograph. They are covered with cellophane on both sides of the coins--done in a cultured American way. But what did the pilot need these francs for? He also had West German, Italian, and other currency. Besides his own watch he was also given for his trip two other gold watches and seven gold rings for ladies. Why was all this necessary in the upper layers of the atmosphere? (Laughter in the hall. Applause). Or maybe the pilot was to have flown still higher to Mars and was going to lead Martian ladies astray? (Laughter in the hall. Applause)

You see how thoroughly American pilots are equipped before setting off on a flight to take samples of air in the upper layers of the atmosphere. Thus, no concocted version can save the reputation of those who bear the responsibility for this perfidious act. They were caught red handed as organizers of the incursion of the airspace of the Soviet Union not long before the meeting of the heads of government in Paris, not long before the visit to the Soviet Union of the President of the United States. I believe that this is poor preparation for serious talks on easing international tension. I am now reading in the Western press comments on these events, and there are some people who accuse us, Khrushchev, of wanting to undermine the summit meeting--otherwise he would not have presented this fact at the session of the Supreme Soviet but raised it through other channels.

But what did you expect, gentlemen?! You are accustomed to make mischief, and some people regard all this as a good thing and keep silent! No, we are not that kind of people. If you make mischief, bear the responsibility for this openly. (Prolonged applause).

They live according to the law: If one is rich, he will not be imprisoned. This is true for the capitalist because he always can buy himself off. But there is another country, the country of socialism, where law protects the state, protects society, protects everyone living in this state. (Prolonged applause) What could be the reason for such a reckless step? This was evidently done because someone in the United States was obsessed by the idea of intelligence. The U.S. proposal on "open skies" is well known. We rejected this proposal, and the American military then decided to "open" the Soviet sky by themselves.

But there are rules of international law, there are national frontiers; and no one has the right to disregard these laws and to cross the frontiers of other countries. We shall decorate the officers and men who took a direct part in bringing down this aircraft. (Prolonged applause). We are proud that they discharged their soldiers' duty. I believe that any self-respecting country having means to destroy air pirates would have acted in the same way. (Applause).

From the lofty rostrum of the Supreme Soviet we once again warn those countries that make their territory available for the take off of planes with anti-Soviet intentions--do not play with fire, gentlemen! (Stormy applause).

The governments of the three countries--Turkey, Pakistan, and Norway--- must be clearly aware that they were accomplices in this flight because they permitted the use of their airfields against the Soviet Union.

This is by no means a friendly manifestation. This is a hostile act on their part against the Soviet Union. If the governments of these countries did not know, and I allow that in this case they were not informed, they should have known what the military authorities of the United States were doing in their territory against the Soviet Union. They must now see what can happen when they lend their territories to third countries which use it for aggressive purposes. It is difficult, however, to agree that the governments of these countries did not know the purposes for which they permitted the establishment of U.S. Air Force bases on their territory.

As testified by the American pilot, he had been to Norway before. Apparently he had decided to investigate landing conditions there ahead of time. He flew in the same plane over Greece, Italy, West Germany, and Norway, staying there for two or three weeks.

Comrade deputies, I speak in such detail about all this to refute the rather clumsy inventions of the State Department and to inform the public of all countries, including the United States, of the exact facts of the aggressive actions committed against our country by the United States.

At present, the State Department version that the downed plane was dispatched for meteorological purposes is being widely circulated in the United States, and many people obviously believe that it is true.

Some public figures, politicians, and newsmen, quoting this version, are coming out with speeches and articles expressing some kind of offense and even indignation. I want to ask those "offended" once more what their reaction would be if our plane intruded into the United States and flew about 2,000 kilometers over its territory?

Perhaps, the "offended" would rather seek the answer from Allen Dulles, on whose orders the American plane flew into the Soviet Union? For the whole world knows that Allen Dulles is not much of a weatherman.

I would like those who are making complaints of this kind to come over to the Soviet Union to have a look at what is left of the plane, the equipment, and instrumentation; and to see for themselves for what purpose that plane had been sent.

I think it is worthwhile holding a special press conference and demonstrating all these means of "air sampling," which are actually the piratical outfit and weapons of the American flier who made a diversionary flight over the territory of the Soviet Union. We shall show this equipment to all--to ambassadors and foreign correspondents, to everyone who wants to see it. One must nail to the pillory all those guilty of the provocation. (Prolonged applause).

In addition, I think it will be right to have this flier prosecuted so public opinion can see what action the United States is taking to provoke the Soviet Union and heat up the atmosphere, thus throwing us back from what we have achieved in relieving international tension. (Prolonged applause).

I remember the talks I had with Americans. They impressed me very much. I still believe that those who met me want peace and friendly relations with the Soviet Union. But the militarists from the Pentagon and the monopolists connected with them seem to be unable to call a halt to their war effort.

The President's spokesman, Hagerty, on receiving a message about my report to the session, said he believed that President Eisenhower knew nothing about the incident of the American plane. I am quite willing to grant that the President knew nothing about the plane having been sent into the Soviet Union and having failed to return. But, indeed, this must alert us even more. I said in my report that when militarists start bossing the show, and when they get brazen, this may have disastrous consequences. This is power of a dictatorial type, the power of generals who have lost all sense of honesty and who do not care about the lot of the peoples.

How can men live quietly when war or peace--and it has to be emphasized once more that war under present conditions would be the greatest calamity and disaster for scores of millions of human beings--depends on a contingency; when the question of war or peace depends on men who are capable of playing with fire.

For the time being we qualify this aggressive act by an American plane which has violated our frontier as one designed to rack the nerves, rekindle the cold war, and revive the dead rat. This is so far not preparations for war, for a war of today. Yet, this provocative and aggressive act has elements of preparations for the war of the future. This is what makes us so emphatic in exposing such aggressive actions.

The piratical flight by the American aircraft reemphasizes the need for vigilance, revolutionary vigilance which has always been characteristic of the Soviet people. We understand full well that there are still many dark and evil forces on earth which hate us and are ready for any adventure to stay the progress of history and to delay our inevitable victory. We must be vigilant every day and every hour. We do not ask for peace out of weakness. Peace is the unfailing condition of a tranquil and happy life for human beings. But to make peace really triumph, it is indispensable that the soldiers of peace, the champions fighting for a just cause, should always be ready to rebuff an aggressor, to retaliate if the opponents of peace provoke an attack on our country or any other country of the socialist camp. **(Stormy applause).**

That is why this fact should make us even more watchful. It is necessary to continue strengthening the defensive capacity of our homeland, not to rest on our laurels, to always have the combat readiness of the troops at the required level.

I should like to emphasize that this is not a call to strain nerves in our country; it is an appeal for calmness, an appeal for vigilance, for reason.

The foes of peace, exposed as they now are by irrefutable facts, begin to ingratiate themselves. The State Department declared that no American aircraft flew over Soviet territory Apr. 9. That means that the State Department denies the fact I mentioned in my report to you.

But I stressed in my report that the reason the Soviet Government decided to draw no public attention to the flight of the American plane on Apr. 9 was precisely because we knew that the aggressors and the militarists would resort to any subterfuge, without a moment's hesitation. Only when they are cornered by the facts do they find themselves exposed.

In this respect the militarists and aggressors are taught to act upon the principle that one is not a thief until caught stealing. That's just why we said nothing about the flight of the American plane on Apr. 9. This time we have caught the thief. We have shot him down. And now that we have material evidence at our disposal, there is no escaping the responsibility. **(Prolonged applause).**

Everybody knows that dizziness is a rather unpleasant thing. Sometimes, an exceedingly drunk man, with a dizzy head, may fail to find his way home. But the kind of dizziness which causes a flier to stray 2,000 kilometers inside a foreign land is a dangerous thing.

In this case it is worth recalling once more the Soviet Government's statement that such an adventurist, prone to dizziness, may, in fact, drop a hydrogen bomb on foreign soil. And this means that the peoples of the land where this adventurist was born unavoidably will immediately receive a more rather than less destructive hydrogen bomb in return. Considering now the numerous statements and utterances by foreign diplomats and newsmen about this incident, one cannot help wondering what kind of morality guides these men. For they count themselves as Christians and believers. They, believers, accuse us of atheism. Good indeed are the ethics of such people. If such people really believed in God they would be afraid of hell, where they inevitably would end, because according to the teachings of Christ they will have to boil in tar in hell eternally for their foul deeds against peace and mankind. (Animation in the hall. Applause).

No, it is not Christian ethics that these people preach. They preach the ethics of the bourgeois world which knows nothing sacred.

Comrade deputies, the incident of the American aircraft does not facilitate a peaceful adjustment of international disputes. But this incident must not impel us to revise our plans by increasing appropriations for arms and the army, must not impel us to halt the process of reducing the army. We shall continue to be guided by the Leninist peaceful policy, to uphold the idea of peaceful coexistence. (Prolonged applause).

We must allocate for defense appropriations in such a way as to maintain our reliable rocket weapons at the ready in order to always be prepared to give a fitting reply both to the principal aggressive forces which inspire the aggressors scattered throughout the whole world and these small and brazen aggressors. Let all aggressors know that no one will get off scot-free. Both the boss and the lackey will receive what they deserve. And this will only benefit all people who detest war.

Comrades, I report to the Supreme Soviet that on the decision of the government, the Soviet Army and Navy are being switched over to rocket weapons; strictly speaking, have been switched over already.

Therefore, we have set up a chief rocket troops command. Marshal of Artillery Nedelin, a remarkable artillery man who covered himself with glory during the war against Nazi Germany, has been appointed commander in chief of these troops. (Stormy, prolonged applause).

I would like to tell you, Comrade Nedelin: Do not rely on God. Better train your troops and master the technical equipment which we have entrusted to you so that the rocket troops, in case of an enemy attack, are capable of dealing a devastating retaliatory blow at the enemy at any moment! (Stormy, prolonged applause).

Dear comrades, the decisions we are adopting today on the abolition of taxes and the transition of the working people of our country to a shorter workday are magnificent achievements. They attest to the fact that our people are in the prime of their creative strength.

Inspired by these decisions, the Soviet people will work still better, and the peaceful exploits of Soviet men and women will add to the glory of our socialist homeland. With every passing month, with every passing day, the Soviet people will live better and better. They will have more food, homes, clothing; there will be more factories and mines in our country; electrified railway lines will extend ever further in our homeland. We courageously and joyously follow the road indicated by the decisions of the 21st CPSU Congress, the great road of our seven-year plan. (Applause).

Following this course, confident in the victory of their ideas, in the victory of communism, the Soviet people by their labor and by their creative endeavor prove to the whole world the great superiority of communism.

Victory will be with communism! (Prolonged applause). Long live communism--our great teaching and our great practical task! (Prolonged applause). Behind the banner of Lenin, under the leadership of the Communist Party--onward to the victory of communism. Long live world peace! (Stormy prolonged applause, rising to an ovation. All stand.).

By order of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, orders and medals of the USSR are to be awarded to a group of soldiers, sergeants and officers of the Soviet army for successfully executing a combat mission with which they were charged by the Soviet government in the defense of the inviolability of the Soviet Union and in the destruction of an aircraft which had penetrated deep into the territory of the USSR on 1 May 1960 with hostile intent. In the pictures: officers awarded the Order of the Red Banner, Senior Lieutenant S. I. Safronov (above), Captain N. I. Shelud'ko (below, left), and Major M. R. Voronov (below, right).



STEP ASIDE, IF YOU WANT TO REMAIN IN ONE PIECE

From the speech of Deputy A. A. Grechko to the Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet USSR, Fifth Convocation on 6 May 1960.

Comrades, N. S. Khrushchev reported to the Supreme Soviet on the gross violations of the borders of the Soviet state by American military planes. The boundless resentment and indignation of all Soviet people is unanimously and with particular force shared by the fighting men of our army and navy. This is a perfidious and truly predatory act which exposes the imperialists once more as the sworn enemies of peace and security of the peoples. The provocation of the American imperialists is all the more outrageous since it was committed just when there has recently been a certain alleviation of international tensions, on the eve of the meeting of the government heads when, one would believe, all states should display particular care so that nothing might hamper the successful resolution of urgent and disputed questions in the relations between countries.

We all understand the reason for the predatory penetration into the airspace of our great Motherland. It is to put pressure on our state, on our peace policy, which is unflinchingly pursued by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, an attempt to maintain the "cold war," to reconnoiter our defense and our readiness crushingly to repel aggressors.

The provocation, however, ended in failure. The Soviet Government ordered the armed forces to destroy the enemy plane and the Soviet fighting men honorably fulfilled the order of their Government and N. S. Khrushchev personally. (Applause) The plane was destroyed by a rocket with the first salvo. (Applause) It is a remarkable weapon which was given to us by our people and with which the Soviet armed forces are now equipped.

Let the lovers of military adventures and provocations make a note of it. Let them also make a note that we have a sufficient number of rockets, that there is enough of them for all planes which try to violate our borders. Not only are there sufficient rockets for the planes, there are also enough for those who, losing their minds, dare to send these planes against our country, against the countries of the socialist camp. (Applause)

We cannot view this treacherous act of an air raid against our country separately from other similar aggressive actions of the imperialists. This fact is a natural result and only one of the parts of the notorious "brink-of-war" policy which is stubbornly conducted by the imperialist circles of the United States. Unfortunately this policy is also supported by a number of other states who obsequiously lease their territory for the establishment of foreign military bases.

From this lofty rostrum N. S. Khrushchev noted the Soviet fighting men and, in the name of the Soviet Government, expressed acknowledgement and gratitude to the troop units who are honorably defending the borders of our motherland. We thank you, Nikita Sergeyevich, and in your person the Soviet Government for the great attention toward the army and navy. Your warm words showed once more the constant care of the Communist Party, government, and people for the armed forces, who are called upon to defend the enthusiastic work of the Soviet people. (Applause) Your gratitude obliges us to work even harder to increase the combat readiness of the troops. Let the gentlemen imperialists not disturb the creative work of the Soviet people. To those who may wish to do so, the Soviet fighting men say: "Do not disturb, stay away, and you will remain healthy. If you disturb, do not call for help." (Applause)

Our fighting men are boundlessly devoted to the Communist Party, the Soviet Government, and their people and that is the inexhaustible source of strength and might of our armed forces. Permit me to assure you, comrade deputies, that we have the men and what it takes to defend our motherland. (Applause) No one will disturb the Soviet people in its advance with great strides toward the beautiful future of communism. (Prolonged applause)

THE PROVOCATEURS HAVE BECOME CONFUSED

From the speech by Deputy A. A. Gromyko to the Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet USSR, Fifth Convocation on 6 May 1960.

It is idle to call to mind that the Soviet Union cannot relax its solicitude of security; there is the case of the American plane which violated our state border in a crude manner.

In this connection it appears appropriate to stress an aspect which shows how frivolously those who are responsible for such aggressive acts play with fire. They know well, and this was widely discussed in the American press, that there have been cases of flying geese that were observed on the screens of American radar stations and that were thought to be foreign airplanes approaching. This caused American bombers loaded with nuclear bombs to be dispatched in the direction of the borders of other states. If an ordinary goose can be mistaken for an airplane, then an airplane can, even more so, be taken for an airplane and, at any rate, not for a goose. As for foreign planes that have already encroached on the borders of another state, there is hardly any need to speak at length on what the consequences would be if the state which has become the object of such aggressive acts sets in motion the respective military mechanism. This only stresses even more the danger of the provocative actions perpetrated by the U.S. Air Force.

The U. S. Department of State has just launched the version that, allegedly, the aggressive encroachment on Soviet territory by an American plane on May 1 took place as a result of the pilot having lost consciousness. This version is absurd. Let us ask the State Department this question: Well, and what about American flyers who have frequently opened fire on Soviet airplanes after having violated our borders, were they also unconscious? Is not an attempt being made to insinuate to us that the crews of American airplanes that are being sent to encroach on the territory of the USSR lose consciousness upon crossing the Soviet borders and continue to fly the plane and even shoot in a state of unconsciousness?

This is truly a new problem for medicine! It is simple to give an answer to the State Department: those who are responsible for such actions have clearly become confused, not knowing how to present a coherent explanation.

The Soviet Government does not abandon hope that the time will come when other states will also arrive at the sober and correct conclusion that disarmament, particularly full disarmament, is not unilaterally profitable to some particular country, but is equally profitable to all countries and all nations.

A SCANDALOUS ACT OF AGGRESSION

Speech of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev at the Reception in the
Czechoslovak Embassy on 9 May 1960

Dear Comrade Dvorak, Ambassador of friendly, fraternal Czechoslovakia!

Dear friends, comrades, gentlemen!

We are very pleased to attend the reception held on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the liberation of the Czechoslovak Republic, the celebration of Victory Day, which indeed is a holiday for all the peoples. The Soviet people, at one with all other peoples, sincerely want that there should be no more war, that this war should be the last, that it should be remembered by the peoples and should go down in history as the last war.

We are doing our utmost to achieve this indeed. That is precisely why the Soviet Union submitted at the United Nations its proposals for general and complete disarmament. We not only insist on the necessity of reducing armed forces but already now, without waiting for such decisions by the Western countries, we unilaterally cut the armed forces of the Soviet Union by one-third.

When we have reduced our armed forces to 2,400,000, some time will pass, and we shall think it over and evidently we shall further reduce our Army. Comrade Zhadov [Gen. Aleksandr A. Zhadov, deputy commander of Soviet ground forces] over there scratched the back of his head--another reduction.

No, this will not be done now, Comrade General, but later.

We shall do this if the situation favors such measures. Of course, we shall not cut our armed forces to such a level which would prejudice the security of the Soviet Union. You should bear in mind that we do not reduce our armed forces for financial reasons. No, the financial situation of our state is splendid and, if need be, could not only forbear from reducing the army and navy, but increase them. I repeat, if this were necessary we could do this without tense efforts. But as good masters we say: Why have bigger armed forces than we need?

Controls Not Feared

If our partners agree we are willing to accept total disarmament and we shall effect it honestly. We are not afraid of control. If you please, gentlemen, then you could fly over our territory, check, take pictures, do what you please.

Such an issue as now could not arise then. The Department of State explains the incident with the downed reconnaissance plane more or less as follows: One cannot, they say, admit, nor can one deny. It turns out, as in the well-known joke, that here is a maiden who is also not a maiden for she has a child! The marriage was not registered, therefore one can regard her as a maiden in a way. But she gave birth, to a child. Can one regard her as a maiden or not?

This does not happen in real life. We tell the Americans: Your plane flew over our country on an intelligence mission. We tracked its flight and it flew to the Sverdlovsk area where it was brought down. That is how you got into a mess and you are in a mess. Pluck up your courage and say: Yes, this was such a disgraceful fact. And this is a big disgrace for America since everyone sees now how disgraced in the eyes of the world are those who committed such a shocking act of aggression. The whole world wants peace, a relaxation of international tension while certain quarters in the United States stage such a provocation.

What were the purposes of this flight? A provocation! This is bad, very bad indeed!

Timing for Summit Seen

I have already said, comrades, and now I repeat, that this was done deliberately and deliberately timed for the summit meeting in Paris. It is said that it was the work of the military. Only the military? What kind of state is this if the military do what the Government opposes? How can the Government tolerate this? If anyone of our military allowed himself to do such a thing, we would pull him up immediately. The Government and the country are strong when the entire machinery functions smoothly, when everything is subordinated to the Government. Therein lies real strength. Understand me rightly: When everyone pulls in a different direction what kind of state is this and what confidence can one have in the policy of such a state?

There can be no confidence in the policy of such a state! The statement that the aggressive flight was made without the will and instructions of the Government, that nothing was known of it in the State Department, does not give credit to the Department of State of the United States. And what about Allen Dulles?

For he knew about all this and he also is a member of the United States Government! For this is Allen Dulles' aviation! It turns out that the State Department's reply is, as the saying has it, too thin.

It is possible, I do not know this for certain, but I do not preclude the possibility that the Government of the United States of America knew of this flight. But I, so to speak, confide it to you!

Statement Held Alarming

In diplomatic language it would be better to say: It knew, but it stopped its ears and closed its eyes and now depicts the matter as if the devil led astray some official. However, let it be, with this Government and with its way of issuing statements on all this.

One thing is alarming in this statement. It is vague. More, this statement blames us for not allowing to fly over or travel across our country those who want to study our defenses, to discover secrets. And that is why they, that means the American Government, had been impelled to send planes on intelligence missions. This is a very dangerous explanation. It is dangerous because it does not denounce but tries to justify such a flight and seems to say that such flights are possible in the future, too, because the Soviet Union does not think to reveal its secrets to countries that pursue unfriendly policy toward us.

Using this as the only justification, some gentlemen intend to gain the right in the eyes of public opinion to fly over our territory in the future, too, gleaning important military secrets.

I repeat once again this is very dangerous, let alone that it is wrong in principle and not in keeping with the spirit of international peaceful relations. If someone intends to fly over our territory, reconnoitering objectives and gleaning state secrets, we shall bring down such planes, just bring them down!

More, if such flights are repeated, we shall take appropriate counter-measures.

Other Countries Warned

I should say this: Those countries that have bases on their territories should note most carefully the following: If they allow others to fly from their bases to our territory we shall hit at those bases. Because we assess such actions as provocations against our country!

We tell the Governments of those countries, if you leased your territory to others and are not the masters of your land, of your country, hence, we shall have to understand it in our way. Those who lease your territory, operate against us from your territory. Their lands are far from us while your land is near. That is why as a warning to remote targets we shall find the range to the near ones. Let them draw the appropriate conclusions.

I should not like to heat up passions because even in wartime people long for peace, await an end to the war and dream of peace. There is no war now. Our strength is being tested. Therefore, let us not draw conclusions aggravating relations between countries, such conclusions as would hamper us in the future, I should like to say, even in building good relations with the United States of America. Today I declare once again that we want to live not only in peace but also in friendship with the American people. The American people want no war, I am sure of this.

On the eve of the Paris meeting the aggressive circles wanted to bring strong pressure to bear upon us. We say: Let us conclude a peace treaty with Germany. Some of our former wartime allies are against this.

West Berlin Stand Decried

But why? Plainly speaking, why need the United States of America, France and the United Kingdom, West Berlin? They need it as a dog needs a fifth leg. West Berlin does not give them anything. By the way, no one encroaches on West Berlin. It is said, freedom is at stake, but who encroaches on freedom?

Let the West Berliners continue to live as they do now and let them have the regime they like. The Soviet Government has long since declared that to select a regime is a matter for each people and that everyone should live as he prefers to. If the Western powers do not want to sign a German peace treaty we shall have to sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

The point is that even after we conclude such a treaty with the German Democratic Republic they would like to exercise those rights which flow from Germany's surrender, to exercise them in defiance of the peace treaty we would have signed. But if we sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, the terms of war will be ended and, hence, the terms of surrender will also be ended. They will cease to operate. If after the signing of a peace treaty some one would like to force his way into West Berlin which we would like to see a free city, our force will resist this force.

Aware of this, some leaders in the United States of America decided to teach Khrushchev a lesson; since it is said that force will resist force, we shall teach a lesson to the Soviet Union, we shall fly over your territory and we already flew over it and returned home.

Earlier Flyover Noted

This happened, for instance, on April 9. I have already spoken of this. Even now this flight is denied in the United States. In this case the ethics is: If the thief is not caught, he is no thief. But this time we caught the thief and now the whole world knows of it.

The reconnaissance plane should have been brought down on April 9 too. But our military, to put it mildly, let a chance slip by. And we, as one says, took them to task for it. On May 1 the reconnaissance plane was shot down. The military splendidly coped with the task when the opponent grew bold. For the American military thought like this: If the April 9 flight passed off with impunity, that means they cannot hit it at such an altitude, and the aggressive military wanted to demonstrate their strength once again fifteen days before the summit meeting.

Well, Khrushchev, what are you boasting of? We fly over your country and you can do nothing about it. They expected to fly over Soviet territory this time, too, to fly over Sverdlovsk and to show that we can do nothing about it. Indeed, an unpleasant situation! And now when he hit the air pirate with a rocket, as the saying has it, it is time to dismount from the horse!

S. M. Budenny: One must slash down to the saddle, and everything will go to pieces.

Nikita Khrushchev: I believe that this cavalry rule is quite appropriate!

Attempts are still made to frighten us because in the West bombers are flying on round-the-clock vigil.***

Rockets on Vigil

I should like to tell those people: Listen, gentlemen, we also have bombers, but they are not on vigil, in our country rockets are on vigil!

It is common knowledge that V bombers, as a rule, fly at an altitude ranging from 12,000 to 17,000 meters, they cannot rise higher because designers still cannot overcome technical difficulties. The plane which committed the diversion on May 1 flew at an altitude of 20,000 meters. They say it was an unarmed V plane. It was because it was unarmed that it could fly at such an altitude. They expected that such a plane will be invulnerable for a long time to go. They even expected that this will be almost for all time.

I shall say further, when Twining, the then Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force, arrived here we welcomed him as guest and entertained him. He left our country by air and next day sent a plane flying at great altitude to our country. This plane flew as far as Kiev. The question arose: Should we protest? I proposed that no protest should be lodged. Only an animal might act like Twining which, eating at one place, might do its unpleasant business there. From such behavior we drew the conclusion: To improve rockets, to improve fighters. Our fighters can fly as high as 28,000 meters. But the difficulties of a fighter are that though it can rise high, it is not so easy and simple to find the target in the air; a plane in the air is like a needle in the ocean.

But the rocket finds its targets itself! This the advantage of the rocket and the use of it. We have both fighters and rockets. That is why I say: If there are still politicians who would like to rely on bombers, they are doomed to failure. With the up-to-date military techniques bombers will be shot down even before they approach the target. We also have good aviation. I flew to America in a TU-114. This plane is a modification of a bomber with a flying range of 17,000 kilometers. I mentioned this to the President of the United States. However, the ceiling of the bomber is within the sphere of operation of fighters. It is now not so difficult to bring down a bomber.

The Americans can do this, but we can do it even better.

That is why one should abandon this exchange of threats. It would be better to speak of peace and friendship, how mutually advantageous it is to trade, how good relations can be established between peoples, how cultural contacts and tourist travel can be developed. This would be a far more useful and lofty job and all the peoples of the world would welcome this. This is precisely what our stand is comrades! The people demand tranquillity, they are against wars and military conflicts. Let us try and meet these just demands of the people.

Soviet Goals Cited

When we were preparing the recent session of the Supreme Soviet we did not envisage the discussion of any military questions. We drafted a law on the abolition of taxes paid by factory and office workers and a law on the completion of the transition to a seven and six-hour working day. We prepared for discussion at the session the question of increasing by 25,000,000,000 to 30,000,000,000 rubles expenditures for the expansion of industry manufacturing consumer goods so as to emerge to first place in Europe during this seven-year-plan period and to catch up with the United States five years later. What lofty aims from the attainment of which not a single people, not a single individual in the world, would suffer!

And here, as one says, to "cheer us up," they timed such an aggressive act for the great proletarian May Day holiday! But the aggressors themselves did not expect that they would indeed cheer us up. When Marshal Malinovsky mounted the mausoleum on May Day to make his speech, I could already congratulate him on the shooting down of the plane. He replied that he had learned this just before motoring to Red Square. This was good news before the minister's speech at the May Day parade.

Comrades, today we are celebrating the day of victory in the war in which we lost more people and wealth than any other country. We mourn over the dead but at the same time we celebrate and rejoice in our victory.

Hails War Victory

We rejoice because our people not only rehabilitated the devastated economy but far surpassed the pre-war level of development. This victory is also being celebrated in countries that were our allies in the last war. The Ambassadors of those countries are also here. We have just clinked glasses with the American Ambassador, Mr Thompson. But after our "clinking" in the air, are ringing off our glasses in the Czechoslovak Embassy--is already not the proper ringing.

I respect the Ambassador of the United States and I am convinced that he had nothing to do with this incursion that he could not have anything to do even if he wished to.

I am convinced of the ethical qualities of this man. Since I know him I think that he is not capable of such a thing. Evidently he feels this incident as a big annoyance for his country and for himself as the representative of the United States in the Soviet Union. This must be taken into consideration.

Comrades! I propose a toast to the victory, to the nations and peoples who fought against Nazi Germany and with us won a great victory!

I propose a toast to friendly Czechoslovakia, to the remarkable people of Czechoslovakia, to the hosts of this house, the Ambassador of the Czechoslovak Republic, Comrade Dvorak, and his wife to all who represent the fraternal Czechoslovak Republic in the Soviet Union!

I raise my glass to the end of wars, to the end of provocations, to peace and friendship between the peoples.

CEASE DANGEROUS PROVOCATIVE ACTIVITY

Protest Note from the Soviet Government to the Government of the USA

On the 10th of May, Minister of Foreign Affairs A. A. Gromyko received the acting USA Chargé d'Affaires for the USSR, E. Friars [sp?] and handed him the following note from the Soviet Government to the Government of the USA concerning the aggressive invasion by an American military aircraft of the border of the Soviet Union.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics considers it necessary to state the following to the Government of the United States of America:

On May 1 of this year at 5 hours 36 minutes (5:36 A. M.), Moscow time, a military aircraft violated the boundaries of the USSR and intruded across the borders of the Soviet Union for a distance of more than 2,000 kilometers (1,240 miles). The Government of the USSR naturally could not leave unpunished such a flagrant violation of the Soviet state boundaries. When the intentions of the violating aircraft became apparent, it was shot down by Soviet rocket troops in the area of Sverdlovsk.

Upon examination by experts of all data at the disposal of the Soviet side, it was incontrovertibly established that the intruder aircraft belonged to the United States of America, was permanently based in Turkey and was sent through Pakistan into the Soviet Union with hostile purposes.

Soviet Cites Evidence

As the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchev, made public on May 7 at the final session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, data from the investigation leave no doubt with respect to the purposes of the flight of the American aircraft which violated the USSR's border on May 1, This aircraft was especially equipped for a reconnaissance and diversionary flight over the territory of the Soviet Union. It had on board apparatus for aerial photography, for detecting the Soviet radar network and other special radio-technical equipment which formed part of the USSR anti-aircraft defenses. At the disposal of the Soviet expert commission, which carried out the investigation, there is undisputable proof of the espionage reconnaissance mission of the American aircraft: films of Soviet defense and industrial establishments, a tape recording of the signals of Soviet radar stations and other data.

The pilot [Francis G.] Powers, about whose fate the Embassy of the USA inquired in its note of May 6, is alive and, as indicated in the aforementioned speech of the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchev, will be brought to account under the laws of the Soviet state.

The pilot has indicated that he did everything in full accordance with the assignment given him. On the flight map taken from him there was clearly and accurately marked the entire route he was assigned after take-off from Adana [Turkey]; Peshawar [Pakistan] -Aral-Sverdlovsk-Archangel-Murmansk, followed by a landing at the Norwegian airfield at Bodo.

Pilot's Unit Identified

The pilot has also stated that he served in sub-unit No. 10-10, which under cover of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration is engaged in high-altitude military reconnaissance.

This and other information revealed in the speeches of the head of the Soviet Government completely refuted the United States State Department's concocted and hurriedly fabricated version, released May 5 in an official announcement for the press, to the effect that the aircraft was allegedly carrying out meteorological observations in the upper strata of the atmosphere along the Turkish-Soviet border.

After the complete absurdity of the afore-mentioned version had been shown and it had been incontrovertibly proved that the American aircraft intruded across the borders of the Soviet Union for aggressive reconnaissance purposes, a new announcement was made by the United States State Department on May 8 [Moscow time] which contained the forced admission that the aircraft was sent into the Soviet Union for military reconnaissance purposes and, by that very fact, it was admitted that the flight was pursuing aggressive purposes.

In this way after three days the State Department already had denied the version which obviously had been intended to mislead world public opinions as well as the public opinion of America itself.

'Open Skies' Issue Noted

The State Department considered it appropriate to refer in this announcement to the "open skies" proposal made by the Government of the USA in 1955 and to the refusal of the Soviet Government to accept this proposal. Yet, the Soviet Government, like the governments of many other states, refused to accept this proposal which was intended to throw open the doors of other nations to American reconnaissance. The activities of American aviation only confirm the correctness of the evaluation given to this proposal at the time by the Soviet Government.

Does all this mean that, with the refusal of a number of states to accept this proposal for "open skies" the USA is attempting arbitrarily to take upon itself the right to "open" a foreign sky?



Remains of the American plane which invaded the Soviet Union.

It is enough to put the question this way, for the complete groundlessness of the afore-mentioned reference to the USA "open sky" proposal to become clear.

It follows from the afore-mentioned May 8 announcement from the United States State Department that hostile acts by American aviation which have taken place numerous times in relation to the Soviet Union, are not simply a result of the activity of the military commands of the USA in various areas but are an expression of a calculated USA policy. What the Soviet Government has repeatedly declared in its representations to the Government of the USA in connection with the violations of the USSR national boundaries by American airplanes has been confirmed, namely, that these violations are premeditated.

US Policy Discussed

All this testifies that the Government of the USA, instead of taking measures to stop such action by American aviation, the danger of which has more than once been pointed out by the Soviet Government, officially announces such actions as its national policy.

Thus, the Government of the USA, in the first place, testifies to the fact that its answers to representations of the Soviet Government were only for the sake of form, behind which was a concealed effort to avoid the substance of the issue, and that all violations by American aircraft of national boundaries of the USSR represented actions conforming to USA policy.

In the second place, and this is the main point, by sanctioning such actions of American aviation, the Government of the USA aggravates the situation even more.

One must ask, how is it possible to reconcile this with declarations on the part of leading figures of the USA that the Government of the USA, like the Soviet Government, is also striving for improvement of relations between the USSR and the USA for a relaxation of international tension, and the strengthening of trust between states.

Military intelligence activities by one nation by means of intrusion of its aircraft into the area of another country can hardly be called a method for improving relations and strengthening trust.

It is self-evident that the Soviet Government is compelled under such circumstances to give strict instructions to its armed forces to take all necessary measures against the violation of Soviet boundaries by foreign aviation.

Views Said to Differ

The Government of the USSR regretfully states that, while it undertakes everything possible for the normalization and improvement of the international situation, the Government of the USA follows a different path.

It is impossible to exclude the thought that, apparently, the two governments view differently the necessity of improving relations between our countries and for the creation of favorable ground for the forthcoming summit meeting.

The Soviet Government, as well as all the Soviet peoples, considers that personal meetings and discussions of the President of the USA and other official figures with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR during his visit in the USA made a good beginning in the cause of normalizing Soviet-American relations and therefore an improvement of the entire international situation as well.

However, the latest actions of the American authorities apparently seek to return the state of American-Soviet relations to the worst time of the "cold war" and to poison the international situation before the summit meeting.

The Government of the USSR cannot avoid pointing out that the State Department's statement, which is unprecedented in its cynicism, not only justifies provocative flights of the armed forces of the USA but also acknowledges that such actions are a "normal phenomenon" and this in fact states that in future the United States intends to continue provocative invasions into the confines of the air space of the Soviet Union for the purpose of intelligence.

US Contradiction Seen

Thus the Government of the USSR concludes that the announcement that the flight was carried out without the knowledge and permission of the Government of the USA does not correspond to reality because in the very same announcement the necessity for carrying on intelligence activities against the Soviet Union is justified. This means that espionage activities of American aircraft are carried on with the sanction of the Government of the USA.

The Government of the Soviet Union makes an emphatic protest to the Government of the USA in connection with the aggressive acts of American aviation and warns that, if similar provocations are repeated, it will be obliged to take retaliatory measures, the responsibility for the consequences of which will rest on the Government of the state committing aggression against other countries.

The Soviet Government would sincerely like to hope that the Government of the USA recognized in the final analysis that the interests of preserving and strengthening peace among people, including the interest of the American people itself, whose starving for peace was well demonstrated during the visit of the head of the Soviet Government, N. S. Khrushchev, to the USA, will be served by the cessation of the aforementioned dangerous provocative activities against the USSR, by cessation of the "cold war," and by research through joint efforts with the Soviet Union and other interested states for a solution of unsettled international problems on a mutually acceptable basis, which is awaited by all people.

United States Note

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union and has the honor to refer to the public statement by the Soviet Government indicating that Francis Gary Powers is under detention in Moscow.

The Embassy requests that an officer of the Embassy be permitted to interview Mr. Powers.

Moscow, 10 May 1960

PROTEST NOTE OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics deems it necessary to state the following to the Government of the Republic of Turkey:

A military aircraft violated the Soviet border at 0536 hours, Moscow time, on May 1 of this year, and penetrated more than 2,000 kilometers within the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government, naturally, could not leave such a gross violation of the Soviet state frontier unpunished. When the intentions of the intruder plane became obvious, it was shot down by Soviet rocket troops in the Sverdlovsk area.

Expert investigation of all the data possessed by the Soviet side has irrefutably established that the intruder plane belonged to the United States of America, was permanently based in Turkey, and sent via Pakistan into the Soviet Union on a hostile mission.

Detailed results of the investigation, as announced by the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikita Khrushchev at the final May 7 meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session, leave no doubt as to the purposes of the American plane, which violated the Soviet frontier on May 1. This aircraft of the Lockheed U-2 type was specially equipped for an intelligence and subversion flight over USSR territory. It carried apparatus for aerial photography and for detecting the Soviet radar network and other special radiotechnical means included in the Soviet antiaircraft defense system. The Soviet expert commission which carried out the investigation possesses irrefutable evidence of the American plane's espionage mission: films with photographed Soviet defense and industry targets, tape-recorded signals of the Soviet radar stations, and other materials.

It has been established that the plane in question was based at the American-Turkish air force base of Incirlik near Adana, from where it flew on Apr. 27 to the airport of Peshawar, Pakistan. The flight map taken from the American spy pilot Powers, who survived, shows clearly the entire course he had to fly after leaving Adana: Peshawar; the Aral Sea; Sverdlovsk; Archangel; Murmansk; and finally the Norwegian airport of Bodoe, where he was to land.

The spy pilot divulged that he served with the American unit 10-10, stationed in Turkey and engaged in high altitude intelligence, and that he, for one, made repeated flights along the Turkish-Soviet frontier in order to study the antiaircraft radar system of the Soviet Union.

Confronted with these irrefutable facts, the U. S. State Department was compelled to admit that the American plane, which violated the Soviet border on May 1 of this year, was sent into the Soviet Union on an intelligence mission. Thereby it was admitted that this flight pursued aggressive purposes.

The Soviet Government cannot disregard the part played in the preparation and implementation of this hostile act against the Soviet Union by the Turkish Republic, in whose territory the American intruder plane was based and prepared for the flight.

The Soviet Government deems it necessary to state to the Government of Turkey that by lending its territory to the United States for setting up war bases and for carrying out aggressive acts against the Soviet Union by the U.S. Air Force, it becomes an accomplice in such acts and thereby has a grave responsibility for the possible dangerous consequences of such actions. All this by no means agrees with the statements of Turkish leaders about their desire to help consolidate peace, ease international tension, and improve Turkey's relations with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government earlier warned the Government of Turkey about the danger of the situation when Turkish territory is used as a military place d'armes by third powers. The Soviet side has drawn attention to this fact when the Soviet airspace was violated by foreign planes and balloons from Turkish territory. In the light of the above, the Soviet Government cannot help concluding that the Government of Turkey has not heeded these warnings of the Soviet Union dictating concern for the preservation of peace and a desire to improve Soviet-Turkish relations.

The Government of the Soviet Union protests to the Government of the Turkish Republic against the opportunity given to foreign warplanes to use Turkish territory for preparing and carrying out intrusions into the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government deems it necessary to warn that if such provocations are repeated from the territory of Turkey it will be compelled to take proper retaliatory measures. It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union has means to render harmless, if necessary, the war bases used for aggressive actions against the Soviet Union. It goes without saying that all responsibility for the consequences will be borne both by the governments of the states committing aggression against other countries and the accomplices in this aggression.

Moscow, 13 May 1960

PROTEST NOTE OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics deems it necessary to state the following to the Government of Pakistan:

A military aircraft violated the USSR frontier at 0536 hours, Moscow time, on May 1 of this year and penetrated more than 2,000 kilometers within the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government, naturally, could not leave such a gross violation of the Soviet state frontier unpunished. When the intentions of the intruder plane became clear, it was shot down by Soviet rocket troops in the Sverdlovsk area.

Expert investigation of all the data possessed by the Soviet side has irrefutably established that the intruder plane belonged to the United States of America, was permanently based in Turkey and sent via Pakistan with a hostile mission into the Soviet Union.

The detailed results of the investigation, as announced by the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikita Khrushchev at the final May 7 meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session, leave no doubt as to the purposes of the American plane which violated the Soviet border on May 1. This aircraft of the Lockheed U-2 type was specially equipped for an intelligence and subversion flight over Soviet Union territory. It was equipped with apparatus for aerial photography and for detecting the Soviet radar network and other special radiotechnical means included in the Soviet Union's antiaircraft defenses. The Soviet expert commission which carried out the investigation possesses irrefutable proof of the American plane's espionage mission: films with photographed Soviet defense and industry targets, tape-recorded signals of the Soviet radar stations, and other materials.

It has been established that the plane in question was based at the American-Turkish air force base of Incirlik near Adana, whence it flew on Apr. 27 to the Peshawar airport in Pakistan. The flight map taken from the American spy pilot Powers, who survived, clearly shows the entire course he had to fly after leaving the Turkish city of Adana: Peshawar; the Aral Sea; Sverdlovsk; Archangel-Murmansk; and then the Norwegian airport of Bodoe, where he was to land.

The spy pilot divulged that he serves with the American unit 10-10, stationed in Turkey and engaged in high altitude intelligence, and that he, for one, has flown more than once along the Turkish-Soviet border with a view to studying the Soviet Union's antiaircraft radar defense system.

Confronted with these irrefutable facts, the U. S. State Department was compelled to admit that the American plane, which violated the Soviet border on May 1 of this year, was sent into the Soviet Union on an Intelligence mission. It was thereby admitted that this flight pursued aggressive purposes.

The USSR Government cannot disregard the part played in the preparation and implementation of this act, which was hostile to the Soviet Union, by Pakistan, from whose territory the provocative intrusion of the American plane into the Soviet airspace was undertaken.

In its statements of Dec. 26, 1958, Feb. 20, 1959, and Mar. 25, 1959, the Soviet Government has already called attention of the Pakistani Government to the grave consequences connected with loaning Pakistani territory to establish foreign war bases, and their use by third powers for aggressive purposes against the Soviet Union and other peace-loving states.

The takeoff from Pakistani territory of a U. S. Air Force plane, which penetrated into the Soviet Union on May 1st of this year, again confirms with ample clarity what a dangerous policy the Pakistani Government pursues by allowing foreign armed forces to use its territory.

The Government of the Soviet Union protests with the Government of Pakistan in connection with the granting of Pakistani territory to the United States for the commitment of aggressive actions against the USSR by the American air force and warns that if such actions are repeated from Pakistani territory, it will be compelled to take proper retaliatory measures. It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union possesses means to render harmless in case of need the war bases used for aggressive actions against the Soviet Union. It goes without saying that the responsibility for the consequences will be borne both by the governments of the states committing aggression against other nations and by the governments of the countries which are accomplices in it.

Moscow, 13 May 1960

PROTEST NOTE FROM THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF NORWAY

On May 13, A. A. Gromyko, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, received O. H. Gundersen, Norwegian ambassador to the USSR, and handed him the following note of protest from the Soviet Government: The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic deems it necessary to communicate the following to the Government of Norway:

A military aircraft violated the Soviet frontier at 0436 hours Moscow time, May 1, and flew over 2,000 kilometers deep into the Soviet Union. The USSR Government could not, naturally, have left such a gross violation of the Soviet national frontiers (Okgo--Ed.) unpunished. As soon as the intentions of the intruding plane became obvious, it was shot down by Soviet missile forces in the vicinity of Sverdlovsk.

An expert examination of all the evidence at the Soviet Union's disposal has put it beyond dispute that the invading plane belongs to the United States of America, was permanently based in Turkey, and was sent to the Soviet Union via Pakistan for hostile purposes.

The exact findings of the investigation, as reported by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, N. S. Khrushchev, at the closing meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session May 7, leave no room for doubt as to the purposes behind the flight of the American plane which violated the Soviet frontier on May 1. This plane, of the Lockheed U-2 type, was expressly equipped for reconnaissance and subversory flight over Soviet Union territory.

The plane carried equipment for aerial photography and the detection of Soviet radar networks and other special radio-engineering facilities of the Soviet antiaircraft defenses. The Soviet expert commission, which made the inquiry, has incontestable evidence at its disposal of the spying and reconnaissance mission of the American plane: rolls of film showing Soviet defense and industrial establishments; a tape recording of the signal of Soviet radar stations; and other evidence.

It has been established that the plane in question was based at the American-Turkish airbase at Incirlik, near Adana, from where it flew to the Peshawar airfield in Pakistan, Apr. 27.

The route map taken from the surviving American spy flyer, Powers, clearly and distinctly indicates the entire route which he was instructed to follow after taking off from the Turkish city of Adana: Peshawar, the Aral Sea, Sverdlovsk, Archangel, and Murmansk, with subsequent landing at the Bodoe airfield in Norway. The spy flyer reported that he was serving with the American 10-10 unit stationed in Turkey and engaged in high altitude aerial reconnaissance, and that he had, notably, made repeated flights along the Turkish-Soviet frontier for the purpose of studying Soviet antiaircraft radar networks.

In the face of these incontrovertible facts, the U.S. State Department has had to admit that the American plane, which violated the Soviet frontier May 1, had been sent into the Soviet Union for military reconnaissance. This meant recognizing that the flight had aggressive purposes.

The American pilot testifies that in the course of thorough preparation for his flight over USSR territory, made well in advance, he had, on the instructions of his command, made a preliminary flight from Turkey to Norway via Greece, Italy, and the Federal German Republic, and stayed there for two to three weeks studying landing conditions at the Bodoe airfield.

It should be recalled in this connection that as early as January 1959, the Soviet Government, having received exact and verified information about deliberate reconnaissance flights to Soviet territory by American military planes from Norwegian territory, and specifically the Bodoe airfield, already told the Norwegian Government that such a state of affairs was intolerable. In its reply, the Government of Norway did not deny that planes of third countries received permission from the Norwegian authorities in isolated cases to spy on Norwegian territory temporarily, allegedly for joint flights with aircraft of the Norwegian airforce.

The Government of Norway said that these flights were made only with the permission of the Norwegian authorities and that, under Norwegian rules, allied planes were not allowed to fly across Norwegian territory east of the 24th degree Eastern longitude. But already it was clear that these assurances were an attempt to exonerate Norway's partners in the aggressive NATO Bloc and to whitewash their actions which are a threat to peace and security in the north of Europe, actions for which Norwegian territory, too, is used. Now, the provocative flight over Soviet territory by an American plane which was to land on the Norwegian airfield at Bodoe proves irrefutably that the Norwegian Government did not heed the warnings of the Soviet Government. Moreover, it has in fact become an accessory to provocative actions by the United States against Norway's neighbor, the Soviet Union.

In view of the aforesaid, the question is posed: What is the real worth of the Norwegian Government's repeated assurances that the territory of Norway will not be made available in peacetime for the stationing of foreign armed forces, if this territory is already being used by planes of the U. S. Air Force making aggressive flights into the confines of the Soviet Union? The Soviet Government calls attention to the Government of Norway to the fact that it is difficult to regard these actions otherwise than as unfriendly to the Soviet Union and incompatible with the normal good neighbor relations between the two countries, and considers it necessary to stress that the Government of Norway bears a not inconsiderable share of the responsibility for the aggressive acts undertaken by the American air force with regard to the Soviet Union.

The Government of the Soviet Union protests strongly to the Government of Norway against allowing foreign military aircraft to use Norwegian territory for the preparation and commissioning of intrusions into Soviet airspace.

The Soviet Government considers it necessary to warn that if such provocations continue from the territory of Norway, it will be obliged to take appropriate measures in reply. It will be recalled that the Soviet Union has the means which, if necessary, will make it possible to fully incapacitate the military bases used for the commissioning of aggressive actions against the Soviet Union. It goes without saying that the responsibility for the consequences will rest both with the governments of the states committing aggression against other nations, and the governments of the countries which are their accomplices.

Moscow, 13 May 1960

A LESSON FOR HOTHEADS

Press Conference of A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs USSR
on 11 May 1960

The aggressive act committed on 1 May by the American airplane which was brought down in the Sverdlovsk area was the subject of a press conference held on 11 May in Moscow at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. About 500 Soviet and foreign journalists were present at the press conference, which was held at club on the grounds of the Central Park of Culture and Rest imeni M. Gor'kiy,

A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, met with the correspondents. His opening statement was as follows:

Comrades, gentlemen: In his statement at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on May 7, the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Nikita Khrushchev, said that it would be expedient to hold a special press conference to display the equipment of the American military aircraft which had intruded over 2,000 kilometers into Soviet airspace on May 1 on a diversionary reconnaissance flight and was shot down by Soviet rocket forces in the area of Sverdlovsk. We have invited you all here so that you should see all this for yourselves, and also the wreckage of the plane, and see what gangster-like methods the United States is using to provoke the Soviet Union.

It will be recalled that this provocation was made by a plane based permanently on an airfield on the territory of our neighbor, Turkey. Other accomplices in this aggressive act by the American air force besides Turkey were Pakistan, from which the intruder plane penetrated Soviet airspace, and also Norway, where it was to land after fulfilling its mission.

The evidence in the possession of the Soviet Government leaves no doubt that the responsible American organs which sent the plane across our frontiers were acting in the interest of aggression, for purposes hostile to the cause of peace.

You know that the organizers of this act of diversion, committed on the eve of the four-power heads of government meeting, were literally cornered by the irrefutable facts produced by the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. The U.S. State Department had to recant publicly its earlier, hastily concocted version that the agency which had sent the military plane shot down in the Urals was only interested in the state of weather in the area of the Soviet-Turkish frontier in the Caucasus. This spurious version lasted for less than two days and brought its inventors nothing but acute worldwide embarrassment.

As a result, the State Department had to issue another statement, on May 7, in which it admitted that the plane had been sent to the USSR on an intelligence mission.

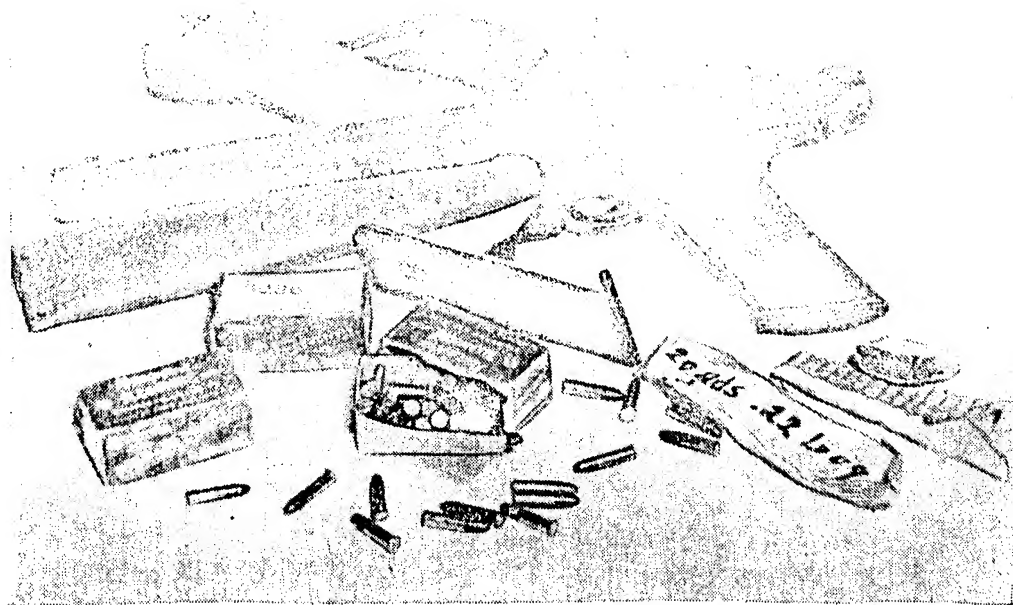
However, having actually admitted that the flight of the American plane pursued aggressive purposes and even claimed cynically that such actions were perfectly normal, the State Department still tried to shift responsibility from the U. S. Government, claiming that Washington did not give "authorization" for this flight. This statement of the Department of State has been duly qualified in today's note of the Soviet Government to the Government of the United States.

[See following pages for photographs.]

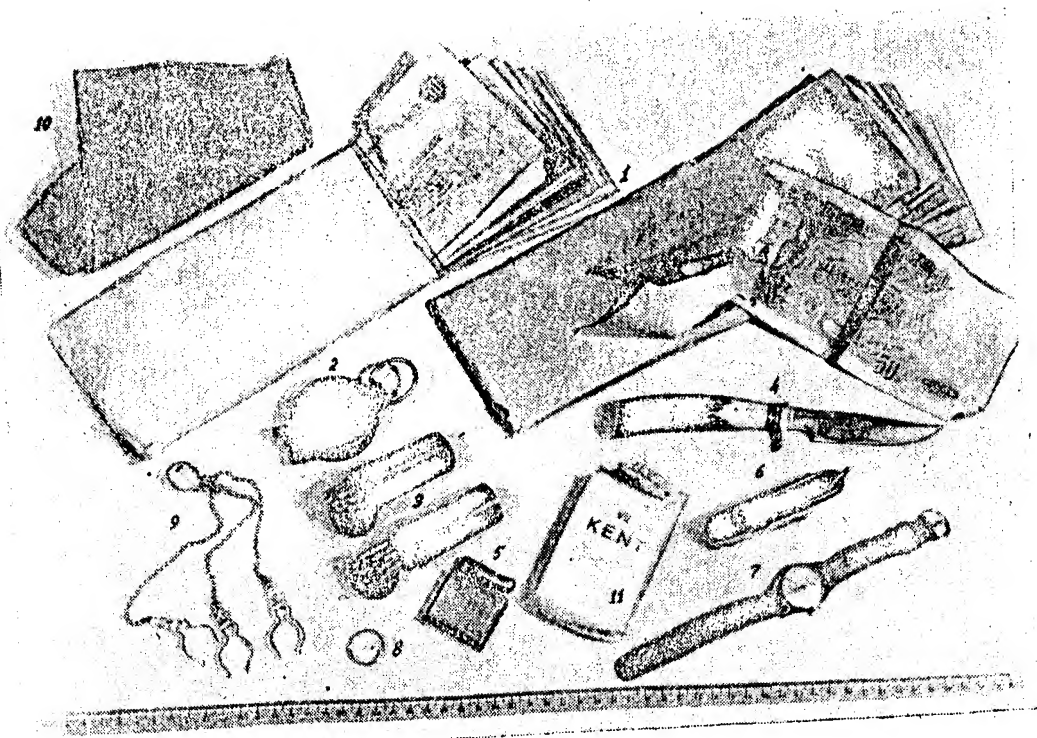
Now a third official statement of the United States on this score has been issued--the statement of Secretary of State Herter. Even the word "cynical" would probably be too mild to characterize this statement by the leader of the U.S. diplomatic service. [Indeed, look what Herter has to say: Declaring that the Soviet Union has its frontiers "tightly closed and rigorously controlled" and that it did not accept the American "open skies" plan and other similar proposals, which serve the interests of American intelligence, Herter tries to whitewash the provocative actions of the American armed forces against the Soviet Union.

So you see, it is "inacceptable" to Herter that Soviet defense secrets should remain out of the Pentagon's reach. Hence the amazingly unscrupulous conclusion for American policy--violate frontiers of other nations without compunction, fly over territories of other nations, multiply the number of aggressive acts! And if other nations do not like it, explain away such actions by the "national defense needs of the United States." And Secretary of State Herter even found it necessary to explain that from the very beginning of his administration the U.S. President gave directives for collecting military intelligence about other countries "by all possible means, "including "penetration" --repeat, "penetration"-- of aircraft into the airspace of other states.

It should be noted that, as evident from Herter's statement, no special permission from the President is necessary for every specific flight, such as the May 1 invasion of Soviet airspace--sufficient for that purpose is the directive given several years ago. The U. S. Government actually gave the Pentagon and the intelligence agencies of the United States a free hand on questions on which the issue of peace and war depends. [Herter's statement once more demonstrates that violations of the sovereignty and inviolability of the frontiers of other states, espionage, and acts of diversion have been proclaimed the national policy of the United States.



Weapon of the aerial pirate Powers



Powers' spy set

However, only a few days ago the majority leader of the Democratic Party in the U.S. Senate, Lyndon Johnson, said: If there was the slightest possibility that the plane's flight was a deliberate intrusion on our party we should have been brought to account for allowing this to happen on the eve of the summit meeting or, in general, irrespective of that. And now the U.S. secretary of state openly declares that such criminal actions are the policy of the United States and is trying to justify them by the fact, you see, that the frontiers of the Soviet Union are tightly closed. What will Senator Johnson and those who share his views in the United States say now?

Does not this behavior in the international arena resemble that of a burglar who, caught in the house he broke into, tries to justify his actions by saying the house was locked and there was no other way to get into it but burglary?

It is well known that the inviolability of a nation, of its territorial waters, and the airspace over its territory is a major principle of modern international law. This principle has been reaffirmed in a number of well-known international treaties to which the United States has subscribed. These treaties establish that no national plane may fly over the territory of another nation or land there without a special permit. The same principle is embodied in the national legislation of all countries, including the United States. The U.S. Congress on two occasions--in 1928 and 1938--proclaimed that the United States had complete and exclusive sovereignty over the airspace over the territory of the United States.

Similar clauses are contained in the Soviet air code, which says that the Soviet Union enjoys full and complete sovereignty over the airspace of the USSR. In other words, this is a generally accepted international law, a law of every state. So, the point in question is deliberate violation of Soviet territorial integrity by U.S. Air Force planes, which is an act of aggression from the viewpoint of international law. It is germane to ask: On what grounds does the Government of the United States think it is permissible to encroach upon the integrity of the airspace of other countries? How can this policy be reconciled with the principles and purposes of the U.N. Charter, which call for the development of peaceful and neighborly relations among states? If the nations took the road now recommended by Washington, law in international relations would be replaced by lawlessness; order and legality, by arbitrariness and gangsterism.

Acting in this way, the United States tramples underfoot the Charter of the United Nations, which it solemnly signed with the other nations 15 years ago.

What is the difference between the policy of violating the sovereignty of other states which is now being proclaimed in the capital of the United States and the policy which was professed by certain states on the eve of World War II, states which regarded the territory of other countries as an object for aggression under the pretext of the needs of their own national security? If there was nothing else in U.S. policy contradicting the interests of peace, even if just the policy aimed at deliberately provoking conflicts by U.S. Air Force aggressive actions had come to light, this alone would show the Soviet people, all the world, including the Americans themselves, that this policy is in gross contradiction to the people's irresistible desire for peace.

The American WALL STREET JOURNAL justifiedly noted that such a policy is fraught with great dangers and not just espionage matters. A spy, the paper writes, can hardly cause the use of rockets as a measure of retaliation; a plane, even an unarmed one, may cause such actions. Indeed, provocative violations of the territorial integrity of other nations is playing with fire, a most dangerous kind of brinkmanship.

We shall meet such unwanted visitors as the Soviet people have always met aggressors, and nothing but wreckage--such as what you will see here today--will be left of the planes which again dare to make sorties within our borders. As to those who lend bases on their territories for the use of planes which violate our frontiers, they should know that in the event of a repetition of such provocations the Soviet Union will be able to neutralize these bases.

Hard as it may be to believe, it is a fact that the U.S. secretary of state contends that provocative invasions by American aircraft of the borders of the Soviet Union, far from injuring the forthcoming summit conference will almost help the conference to reach decisions aimed at strengthening peace. Most surprising logic indeed! One is led to think the task of the summit meeting, as seen by U.S. statesmen, is not to settle mature international problems but to discuss the most perfect intelligence methods to be used by the states represented at the conference against each other and, in general, the most effective means to quarrel and bring the international climate to a still (word indistinct) heat.

One must say that not only in the Soviet Union but also in France, Britain, and even in the United States there exists quite a different view with regard to the tasks of the summit conference.

And if some in Washington became entangled politically, it would seem that a way out should (word indistinct) not in increasing the tangle. If one is guided by a sincere desire to end the cold war, the task, evidently, is to clear the road for honest negotiations.

As for the Soviet Union, the head of the Soviet Government, N.S. Khrushchev, has already stated that the Soviet Union was going to the Paris conference with an open heart and good intentions and will spare no efforts to attain a mutually acceptable agreement. The Soviet Government is conducting a clearcut and consistent policy of peace and for its part will spare nothing to find possibilities for a negotiated settlement of outstanding international issues. Naturally, however, the success of the conference depends not upon the Soviet Union alone.

!! Questions and Answers

PRAVDA correspondent: As is known, the American planes making espionage flights are based in Turkey, Pakistan, and several other countries linked to the United States by military alliances. What is going to be done to protect our country against similar flights from the territories of such countries?

Answer: The Soviet Government has already warned those countries that have collaborated in the aforementioned aggressive acts by the United States. We hope this warning will be a lesson to those hotheads who, feeling hostility toward the Soviet Union, do not wish to consider either commonsense, or real relative strength, or the people's feeling for peace.

The Soviet Union does not wish the matter to lead to further aggravation. It will not permit this to happen, under one condition: that such provocations are stopped. If such provocative acts continue, then, as Comrade N. S. Khrushchev has already pointed out, we shall strike at the bases from which the aggressors carry out their flights. There is no need to repeat that the Soviet Union has all the necessary means to do this.

American correspondent of the National Broadcasting Company: Mr. Minister, can you tell us when and where the trial of pilot Powers will be held, and whether it will be a military or civil trial?

Answer: At present, investigations have not yet been completed. When they have the necessary decisions will be made on all these questions. I repeat: on the completion of the investigations.

Moscow Radio correspondent: Is the whole truth about the provocative violation of the Soviet border by an American plane known to the American people?

Answer: The basic facts, of course, could not remain unknown to the American people, and it is no accident that they have aroused such concern and alarm among the American public. It is possible even from the reports in the bourgeois press to see how widespread the feelings of indignation in the United States are at the actions of American authorities.

At the same time, the propaganda machine in the United States is making every effort to distract public opinion and to direct it up a blind alley. For example, cynical conclusions are being published such as that the intrusion of an American plane into the USSR in itself is not wrong but that the bad thing is that the plane was shot down and the pilot caught. How can such conclusions be classed? Obviously only as fascist appeals to continue dangerous provocations, and as open attempts to arouse hostility and hatred between peoples.

New York TIMES correspondent: Has the Soviet Union ever carried out unauthorized flights over U.S. territory or that of countries allied with it?

Answer: The answer to this question is simple: The very thought of the possibility of such action contradicts the policy of the Soviet Union.

Soviet Russia correspondent: In connection with the summit conference and the tasks which lie before it, how can one describe the reaction of U. S. public opinion to the aggressive actions of the American Air Force (aviatsii)?

Answer: It is known that a wide section of the American people condemn such actions, realizing that they aggravate the situation on the eve of the conference and consequently harm the solution of the appropriate international problems.

However, one also finds in reliable organs of the press statements that espionage by itself is not such a bad thing but that it was unwise to carry out a flight over the territory of the USSR on the eve of the summit conference. This is a strange view. How can one forget that such provocations at any time, not only before a summit conference, can have very dangerous consequences for peace and can bring tragedy for entire nations in their wake.

New York TIMES correspondent: In view of the accusations you have made concerning aggressive actions of the United States against the USSR, does the Soviet Union intend to place this question before the Security Council, and if so, when? Before the summit meeting, during this meeting, or after it has ended?

Answer: N.S. Khrushchev, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, made the appropriate explanation to this question at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I have nothing to add to this statement by the head of the Soviet Government, since it is quite clear.

IZVESTIYA correspondent: In what way are the statements in the United States such as that of New York TIMES observer Baldwin, that the only bad thing in the American plane affair is that the pilot did not kill himself but remained alive, compatible with the elementary demands of humanism?

Answer: Yes, such statements really are being made in the United States. Thus there are voices rebuking the spy, Powers, who was caught red handed, for not making use of the poison needle he had with him, and for not killing himself so that the American military could hide behind a smokescreen of lying fabrications and continue their criminal activities against the USSR. Here you have a vivid example of how, for certain people in the United States, any moral or ethical considerations yield to the interests of the Pentagon and the intelligence department of Allen Dulles. If you like, this is a sort of morality, a sort of ethics, but these are ethics of the jungle. For such people it would have been best if pilot Powers had been turned into a voiceless, inert corpse.

There is the answer to your question on what constitutes imperialist morality, and no achievements of bourgeois ideologists can wash the stain of shame from the faces of those who have made such moral standards an integral part of their policy, and of their international relations.

Baltimore SUN correspondent: Secretary of State Herter has said that all countries conduct intelligence work. Could you tell us whether the Soviet Union also has an intelligence apparatus?

Answer: Clearly, Mr. Herter measures other states with a yardstick made in Washington, and that is a gross error.

India's NEW AGE correspondent: Insofar as this aircraft operated from Turkey and Pakistan, could it be said that it or other aircraft like it intended for spying on the Soviet Union also operated against neighboring countries, against India or Kashmir for example?

Answer: It is not for us, of course, to answer this question as to whether this aircraft operated for intelligence purposes against other states. Nonetheless, one fact concerning the latest provocative flight on May 1 is well known: The American aircraft grossly violated the sovereignty of Afghanistan, cutting right across its territory before crossing the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

North American newspapers Alliance Agency correspondent: How long has the Soviet Union known that such flights have been going on over its territory?

Answer: I can answer that question this way. It is wellknown, and there have been reports about this in the press, that the Soviet Government has made appropriate complaints to the U.S. Government concerning the violation of the Soviet state frontier by American aircraft. We have made these complaints more than once. The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, N.S. Khrushchev, dealt with only two cases in his speeches to the USSR Supreme Soviet, particularly with the latest case which took place on May 1 and was most blatant and gross in character.

As is known, the U.S. Government evaded these complaints of the Soviet Union with formal replies. It became clear to the Soviet Government that the U.S. Government, despite absolutely irrefutable facts and proof, was simply unwilling to admit them.

LE MONDE correspondent: Does the Soviet Government intend to bring this pilot before representatives of the press, and to permit him to address them?

Answer: I think I have already answered a similar question. I repeat that at present an investigation is being carried out, and it is not yet completed. Appropriate decisions concerning the pilot will be made when the investigation is completed.

Question from JOURNAL NEW TIMES correspondent: Many people in the United States are seriously concerned by the fact that as a result of the activities of the American authorities faith in the sincerity of American foreign policy has been undermined in the world. How can one evaluate these apprehensions?

Answer: You may judge for yourself on that. The facts speak for themselves.

RED STAR correspondent: Why are the U.S. Government and Secretary of State Herter so insistent in defending the proposal on the so-called open skies?

Answer: The answer to that is simple. The "open skies" plan is a plan for military reconnaissance by the United States.

As Comrade N.S. Karushchev has repeatedly said, this plan seeks to have the Soviet Union open up its skies to American aircraft and to afford the American military every opportunity to collect information on its military and industrial objectives. If there could still be to this day people abroad so naive as to believe the "open skies" proposal has any other purpose, then today the number of such people has obviously considerably decreased. The provocative activities of the American aircraft furnish a vivid illustration of the nature of the "open skies" proposal.

BORBA correspondent: The U-2 aircraft was built four years ago. Have you any grounds for believing that it was specially constructed for intelligence purposes, and that it was also intended for military reconnaissance over the territory of the USSR?

Answer: In view of the special character of this question, the reply will come from an expert on these matters, Comrade Demura.

G.F. Demura: As to the fact that this U-2 aircraft was carrying out a special intelligence flight, we have no doubts whatsoever. In the first place, the aircraft bore no national markings. The aircraft has no air-navigational or contour lights, which are necessary for recognition of friendly aircraft. Found in the wreckage of the plane were a radio-reconnaissance receiver and photographic apparatus, a magnetic-recording device, and photographs which show that the data recorded and photographed was of an obviously military character. Since this aircraft is a special-purpose, intelligence (diversionnyy) aircraft, it was equipped with a special mechanism for the destruction of the aircraft and also of the reconnaissance apparatus in the event of any decision to end the plane's flight. And finally, the pilot's statement and the documents found on him show that the flight in question had been undertaken for purposes of espionage and reconnaissance. These documents and the pilot's statement are on display at the exhibition.

Moscow news correspondent: There is a rumor among correspondents in Moscow that as a result of the failure of Powers' mission a big reshuffle in leading personnel of American intelligence is taking place. Do you know anything about this?

Answer: This could be. It could be that, as a result of this scandalous failure, a reshuffle in leading intelligence personnel is really taking place in Washington. But this, of course, is not just a matter of shuffling some people in intelligence with others: It is a matter of policy.

After the press conference all those present were directed to the place where an exhibit had been prepared of the downed American aircraft and many pieces of equipment and gear. Viewing the exhibit, the journalists could see that there was no doubt of the intelligence-collection purposes which the flight of the aircraft "Lockheed U-2" had accomplished. A worthy retribution overtook this spy on the territory of the Soviet Union.

THEY BROUGHT HIM TO BAY

"Do you acknowledge your guilt?"

"I acknowledge myself guilty in that I flew over Soviet territory and over assigned points on the flight course, I turned on and switched off various special pieces of apparatus which had been installed on board the aircraft. And I consider that this was done in order to obtain intelligence information concerning the Soviet Union."

These words are from the record of the interrogation of the American spy-pilot F. Powers. They speak for themselves. Yesterday, photographs of the pages of this documents were exhibited on the wall of the chess pavilion of the Central Park of Culture and Rest imeni M. Gor'kiy in Moscow.

At the entrance journalists meeting each other said that there were no two exhibitions in the Park: at one--the Finnish--peaceful agricultural machinery is shown, high-grade lathes, china, paints and varnishes, furniture...And at the other--the spying equipment of the American pilot and the wreckage of his aircraft which had been brought down by Soviet rockets. One cannot help comparing the two exhibitions and it must be said that the comparison is not at all in favor of the "American exhibit"!

"The club of entertaining meetings"--thus, by unconscious irony the pavilion is called where we sat together with American journalists. It was very clear that they felt very ill at ease; the faces of many of them were red with shame. The hall was jammed. Here were representatives of the most important news agencies and newspapers of the world--in all about 500 Soviet and foreign journalists were gathered here.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, A. A. Gromyko, said that the journalists had been invited here in order to see the wreckage of the American spy plane and to convince themselves regarding the bandit-like measures which the United States of America was carrying out, provoking the Soviet Union. The whole world now knows that the organizers of this diversion were brought to bay by the irrefutable facts which were made public a few days ago by N. S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

All these and other documents and material evidence show that the case is one of deliberate violation of the territorial inviolability of our country by a military aircraft of the U.S.A., which is an act of aggression under international law. How often have we heard unsubstantiated statements from certain public officials of the U.S.A. that the Soviet Union violates international agreements. Only one of these assertions has been proven and, indeed, could not be proved by facts since such facts do not and have not existed! And here is the United States, sending a bandit into our country in the person of Powers, tramples into the dirt the Charter of the UN.

We moved on to another exhibit where were displayed copies of the testimony of Powers, photographs of him, and also sequences of photographs taken by him of sections of terrain and military installations on the territory of the USSR. At the exhibit was shown the preserved section of the fuselage of the airplane with a cluster of camera ports and pieces of photographic equipment, which permitted making photographs in seven directions.

We stopped at the showcase containing the pistol with silencer and clips of cartridges for it. Here is the deadly needle with which the pilot should have killed himself, here is the money--American dollars, French francs, Turkish lira, West German marks, Soviet rubles. The bandit was covered with money. In vain--it did him no good...And beside this, another curious document which reveals the vile methods of American intelligence. This was a statement in 14 languages: "If you help me, you will be rewarded for it", --so it says as an aid to the spy. The base soul measures everything on this scale, calculates that everything can be bought...

Nikita Sergeyevich finished his inspection of the exhibition. The correspondents formed a solid circle around the head of the Soviet Government and requested him to answer their questions. In order that he might be seen and heard by all they asked N. S. Khrushchev to stand on a chair. His every word was listened to intently. The gravity of the situation was felt in the hall and none of the journalists, regardless of the country or newspaper he represented could hide his dismay resulting from the unprecedented provocations on the part of the U.S.A.

Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev drew attention to the danger of such occurrences. He sharply condemned the insolent and cynical statement of American Secretary of State Herter, and warned that every uninvited visitor could expect the fate of Powers and his black aircraft. With heartfelt warmth Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev commended the skilled actions of the soldiers of our rocket units who had so carefully downed the American military plane that all the necessary evidence was left intact--even maps and instruments and the cameras with the spy film. Even the pilot-pirate remained alive and healthy.

visible on the parts of the aircraft and the instruments which escaped destruction. On several of them is printed "Property of the Government of the U.S.A.", on others--"Issue of the Military Department of the U.S.A."

In the pavilion the journalists met with N. S. Khrushchev, who was visiting the exhibit. Nikita Sergeyevich examined the stand on which was located the catapult seat, the explosive with the longrange firing mechanism, intended to destroy the entire aircraft with its bandit's apparatus; tanks with oxygen enough for an eight-hour flight.

Here also was displayed the high-altitude nylon flying suit of F. Powers, his outer summer flying suit, his hermetically-sealed helmet with the number 29 which had been bestowed on the spy-pilot. An expert said, to N. S. Khrushchev that no devices for "sampling the air", for the study of turbulence of air currents had been found on the downed American plane.

Nikita Sergeyevich smiled ironically.

"And now, Nikita Sergeyevich," the expert said, I will turn on the magnetophone and you will hear the signals of our radar stations, recorded by Powers."

Signals, resembling "beep-beep" were heard. What a pity that these sounds, known to the whole world, have been so little studied by the American provocators! The magnetophone, installed on the plane, incidentally, would record uninterruptedly for eight hours.

Nikita Sergeyevich listened silently to the explanations of the expert, moving from exhibit to exhibit. They showed him one of the instruments taken from the downed American plane.

An exchange of technical experience, isn't it?" smilingly remarked Nikita Sergeyevich.

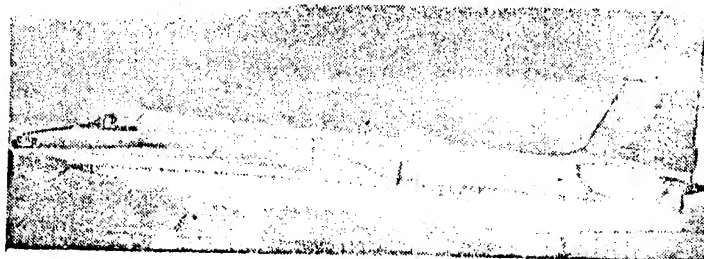
And here are the maps. A large map with the route entered on it. Here is shown the permanent base at Indzhirlik near the Turkish city of Adana, then the Pakistani airfield at Peshawar, from which the reconnaissance plant penetrated over the border of the Soviet Union. This occurred on 1 May at 5:36 a.m. And at 8:55 the air pirate was brought down in the Sverdlovsk area by our rockets. This spot is specially marked on the map. On another map--a meteorological map, with entries Powers had made in the air, we saw the second part of the flight course with the remaining legs shown on the map--turn at Sverdlovsk to Kirov, then to Arkhangel'sk, to Murmansk, and to the Norwegian city of Bodo.

After answering their questions the Minister invited the journalists into the pavilion which is called the chess pavilion.

"Alas," someone said, "they won't be playing chess here today."

"On the contrary," the answer was heard, "the situation which has developed could not be called anything else than the "tsey-not" [chess expression for exceeding one's time limit for play] into which the State Department has fallen...

On the way to the pavilion we stopped to talk with an elderly man with the bars of orders on his civilian coat.



"Lockheed U-2"--reconnaissance plane of the United States Air Force.

"Are you journalists from the press conference?" he asked.

"My name is Aleksandry Ivanovich Sergeychuk. I had two sons killed in the war. I wish that you would write in Pravda that I, an old man who knows what war is, do not understand how the Americans can shout continually about peace and sincerity, and yet send us such bandits as Powers... I speak of Marten... A simple Soviet man, like I am, cannot believe--how low these people have fallen, how they value their moral principles...

After several minutes' conversation the journalists went into the pavilion.

In the center of the large hall were the torn wings of the "Lockheed U-2" which is called the "black airplane" in Turkey, Pakistan, and Japan. Here is the vertical stabilizer of this aircraft. There were no identifying marks on it. And this was no accident. This black vulture had swept in over us hoping to remain undetected. The American newspaper "Wall Street Journal" compares it to a clergyman caught on a night's entertainment. It would be proper to compare it with a thief, with a bandit breaking into somebody else's house. The pirate supposed that the absence of identifying marks would save him. It did not save him! And that it is of American origin is shown by the plates of American firms which are

The answers of Nikita Sergeyevich to the journalists were clear, brief, convincing. In them was both the iron logic and the great strength of soul of our people and boundless faith in the victory of communism. Nikita Sergeyevich pungently ridiculed those who maintain that the provocative encroachments of American aircraft into the Soviet sky not only would not harm the prospects of the coming summit conference but might even help it strengthen peace. Many times the keen-witted and pointed answers by N. S. Khrushchev brought warm applause from the journalists.

Giving serious warning to the lovers of provocation, Nikita Sergeyevich spoke of the desire of the Soviet Union henceforth not to spare any efforts for the relaxation of international tension, for the creation of relations among States such that no aggressive acts will take place.

Everyone listening to Nikita Sergeyevich in the hall was filled with the thought that the Soviet sky was fastened with a proper lock that the so-called "open skies" plan had again been revealed to the whole world as a plan for espionage, diversions, and aggressions. Not an "open sky" but a heart open for friendship--this is what the people need. And the words of Nikita Sergeyevich to the effect that the Soviet Union will continue to struggle persistently for peace, brought forth stormy applause from those present. From all sides cries were heard: "Thank you, Comrade Khrushchev! Thank you, Nikita Sergeyevich!"

So ended the impromptu press conference in the chess pavilion of the Central Park of Culture and Rest imeni M. Gor'kiy.

N. Denisov
K. Nepomnyashchiy

(Pravda for 12 May)



A Soviet airdrome, photographed from the air
by the American spy.

THE MASK IS TORN OFF

Meeting of N. S. Khrushchev with Soviet and Foreign Journalists on
11 May 1960.

On May 11, following the press conference given by Foreign Minister Gromyko, Soviet and foreign correspondents were invited to examine the exhibition of the fragments of the downed American plane. During their visit to the exhibition, the correspondents met Nikita Khrushchev, who, having examined the wreckage of the plane and talked to experts, was preparing to leave. The correspondents surrounded Nikita Khrushchev, and a conversation ensued. The correspondents expressed satisfaction with having been given an opportunity to examine the fragments of the plane and the equipment and special apparatus it carried.

"I see that you are satisfied with the press conference," Nikita Khrushchev said. "You must have gotten the answers to all your questions. I have already said that we intend to take to the Security Council the question of the aggressive intrusion of an American plane within the confines of our country. If the Security Council--on which, apparently, pressure will be exerted by the United States--does not take the right decision, we shall raise the matter in the U.N. General Assembly. Such aggressive actions by the United States are a highly dangerous thing.

"This danger is enhanced by the fact that in his statement of May 10 U.S. Secretary of State Herter not only sought to justify this act of aggression but also said that the U.S. Government intended to continue such flights. This is an open threat to peace. We will shoot down such planes, and we will strike at the bases from which these planes will be sent to our country. You understand that if such aggressive actions continue, this might lead to war."

Correspondent: May I ask a question?

Khrushchev: Even two, if you like. (Animation)

Question: You have probably noticed a placard among the fragments of the plane urging assistance to the pilot. What do you think its authors meant?

Khrushchev: We assisted the pilot when he flew into our territory and gave him due welcome. If there are other such uninvited guests, we shall receive them just as "hospitably" as this one. We shall try him, try him (severely?) as a spy.

Question: How could all this affect the summit meeting?

Khrushchev: Let those who sent this spy plane think over this question--although they should have thought about the consequences beforehand. After all, an aggression has been committed against our country. And we shall continue routing all aggressors who dare raise a hand against us. You see how accurately our rocketeers shot down the plane without setting it on fire! The pilot is alive, the instrumentation intact--in other words, the material evidence is here for everyone to see. These are very skillful actions by our rocketeers. We are very grateful to them for this. (Animation, applause)

Question: Will this plane incident influence Soviet public opinion when Mr. Eisenhower comes to Moscow?

Khrushchev: I would not like to be in Mr. Eisenhower's place. I would not like to be asked the questions which might be put to him when he comes to the Soviet Union!



Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR talks with Soviet and foreign journalists.

I can only say: The Soviet people and our public are very polite, so there will be no excesses, but questions will be asked, of course. (Animation, laughter)

I would put it this way: one person, namely, Mr. Herter, has helped the President particularly in this respect. At his press conference Herter made an outrageous statement! Far from feeling guilty and ashamed of aggressive actions, he justifies them and says that this will continue in the future. Only countries which are in a state of war can act in this way. We are not in a state of war with America. These aggressive actions and Herter's statement are impudence, sheer impudence! Herter's statement has made us doubt the correctness of our earlier conclusions that the President, the American Government, did not know about the (flight?) Herter's statement says that this intelligence plan was endorsed by the government.

The Americans obviously were compelled to say this because otherwise they would have had to bring Allen Dulles to account. Dulles, in turn, would have exposed the government by saying that he carried out a plan approved by it and, consequently, endorsed by the head of the government. I proceed from the statement that was made by Herter. There was a time--I remember it from my youth--when many criminals and suspicious elements roamed the world. These people resorted to the following trick: A bandit with a small boy would hide under a bridge and wait for someone to cross it.

Then the bandit would send the boy to a passerby and the boy would say: Hello mister, give me back my watch. The natural answer would be: What's that? Now run along! Then the boy would insist: But look, mister, this watch is mine. Why don't you give me back my watch? Then the armed bandit would appear, as though attracted by the noise of the argument, and tell the passerby: Why do you bully the boy, give him back his watch and pass over your coat, too! (Laughter)

The United States wants to live according to this law. But we are not defenseless passersby. Our country is a strong and mighty state which can try its strength (with it?). If the United States has not experienced a real war on its territory, has not experienced air raids, and if it wishes to unleash a war, we shall be compelled to fire rockets which will explode on the aggressor's territory in the very first minutes of war. (Applause)

I say this because I have read Herter's statement saying: We are compelled to fly; it is the fault of the Soviet Union itself, because it does not give us access to its secrets, which we simply must know. This is why, if you please, we undertake such flights. After all, the President has said that the skies should be open--this is why we fly and shall go on flying, shall go on opening the skies.

How can an official representative of a state speak in this way about another nation! We do not live according to the laws of the United States. We have our own laws. This is why we shall make everyone on our territory respect these laws---and violators will be thrashed! (Applause)

I liked the article in the British newspaper the DAILY WORKER the essence of which was as follows: If we accept the philosophy which some people in the United States want to instill in the public, it would be something like this: It is not the burglar who is guilty, but the owner of the house he broke into, because he locked it, thereby compelling the burglar to break in. But this is a philosophy of thieves and bandits!

I think that if world public opinion correctly realizes the complete gravity of the situation and approaches this aggressive act of U.S. policy with due responsibility; if everyone unanimously condemns this act; and if the U.S. Government no longer uses such methods with regard to other states; this will be a good, refreshing, so to speak, "ozonizing" tendency in international relations.

Reading American press reports these days, I see that, excepting a few gangsters of the pen who are whitewashing his action, the absolute majority of people writing in the American press, including those notorious for their past lack of objectivity, are indignant about this incident and regard it as perfidy with regard to the Soviet Union. This is a good sign. If you newsmen inform the public correctly, this incident, like every other incident, will finally be "digested." After all, gentlemen, we must live in peace; and not only in peace but also in friendship. (Applause)

Question: Can one remain optimistic about U.S. policy?

Khrushchev: I consider myself an incorrigible optimist. I regard the provocative flight of the American intelligence plane over our country not as a preparation for war but as probing. They have now "probed" us and we boxed the nose of the "probers."

Some U.S. officials are making a big noise now. Let them! The Soviet Union is not Guatemala. They cannot send troops here. We have means to cool down bandits, should they wish to use their brazen methods against us. If they behave in this way, they will get this calming treatment.

Question: Mr. Khrushchev, has the estimate of President Eisenhower which you gave upon your return from the United States changed?

Khrushchev: Well, the statement issued by the U.S. Department of State in connection with the intelligence plane naturally alters my belief that the U.S. President had nothing to do with this affair.

I did not know that such an intelligence plan existed in the United States and that it included a program of reconnoitering flights over Soviet territory. It follows from the statement of the Department of State, which was approved by the President, that flights of American intelligence planes over our country are not a whim of some irresponsible officer but realization of a plan prepared by Allen Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, a department within the jurisdiction of the U.S. President. Mr. Herter admitted that the U.S. President had issued directives to collect various intelligence information by all possible means.

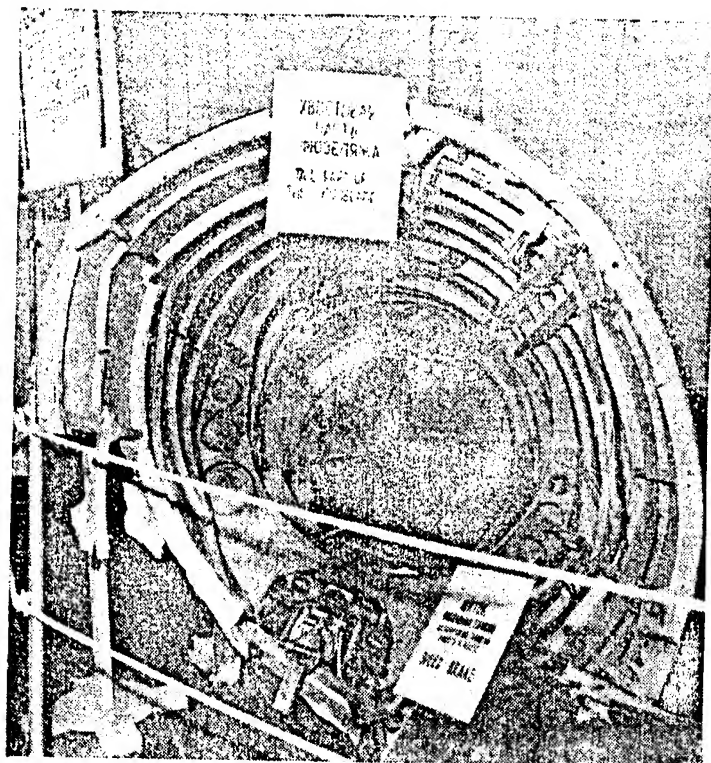
[see following page for photograph]

These directives served as the basis for working out and carrying through programs which included, as Herter says, extensive aerial surveillance both peripheral and by penetration. I ask you to note this: by penetration--that is, by reconnaissance, spying flights over the territory of a state with which normal relations are maintained. And this plan was approved by the President. Incredible. Should I say after this what nice people you are? To do this is to have no self-respect.

I would say that Mr. Herter has taken off all the veils and effaced all the paint used to camouflage, whitewash and make up, as it were, the policy of U.S. imperialists. Now, by his statement, he has revealed the bestial, fear-inspiring face of imperialism. So what? It turns out that this face no longer inspires any fear. Such actions of U.S. militarists are prompted not by the heroism of their masterminds but by cowardice. Danger comes not from one who has one's (necessity at one's command and depends?) on one's powers and possibilities, but from a coward who fears everything.

I often read something like this: Khrushchev claims that capitalism will die. Isn't this the reason reconnaissance flights over the Soviet Union are made? But it is not I who said it; it was Marx who explained this 100 years ago. (Animation, applause) If Messrs. capitalists think that Marx is wrong, (then this?) should console them--(then?) there is nothing to lose one's shirt about or show the white feather.

Question: Did the Turkish, Pakistani, and Norwegian authorities know about the provocative flight of the American plane?



Tail section of the downed American plane.

Khrushchev: It is difficult for me to speak for those governments, but I do grant that they did not know--the Americans are not accountable to them. I do not think that even the prime ministers of the countries on whose territory American military bases are located are allowed inside those bases. (Animation). The fault of such nations as Turkey or Pakistan is that they have joined aggressive blocs.

The popular saying on this score is: One sells one's soul to the devil; before one has done so one can be one's own master, but afterward it is the devil who will have one's soul at his disposal. This is just what is happening to Turkey, Pakistan, and Norway. (Animation)

I warn you, Messrs, foreign journalists, do not sell your souls to the devil. (Laughter). Keep them to yourselves. You would do better by applying your energies to promoting the progress of society. Communist ideas shape the most progressive and the most correct trend in the development of society. The best of Americans, such as John Reed--author of "The Ten Days That Shook the World"--grasped the great meaning of these ideas. John Reed was a very clever man. Yet he was not born a communist, but came to accept it during the October Revolution, and he died a communist.

Some of you scribble stories against communism out of lack of wisdom and understanding. May God forgive you for this. (Animation, applause)

When I read bourgeois journalists' stories slandering Soviet realities and communism I sometimes get angry but, on second thought, I say to myself: Not all journalists are John Reeds. Indeed, they are ordinary men, hired by such publishers as Hearst, for instance, who, like spiders seize a man and enmesh him in their web. If such a journalist fails to supply slanders against communism, what then will Hearst, or any other publishing concern, need him for? Hearst will not keep such a correspondent for a single day. I talked with Hearst twice. During our second conversation, I told him: How is it that you told me one thing and wrote another? He replied: Did I sum up the interview accurately? I must do him justice--he summed up the essence of the talk more or less accurately, but his comment misrepresented its whole meaning. I told him this, but he replied: But I am a capitalist; it is my own commentary that I give. (Animation)

Indeed, he is a capitalist, but most of you are not capitalists, nor will you ever be. So why do you have to serve capitalism? What is the point in being capitalism's flunkys? (Applause) My conviction is that all roads lead to communism. Where else can they lead?

This is just what the American imperialists fear. This is why they get nervous, and fling themselves into reckless adventures. This shows they are not sure of their own system.

The U.S. State Department says that all countries engage in spying. But the Soviet Union never sends its planes into the United States or any other country for reconnaissance purposes, nor does it (intend to?) do so. If there have been any individual instances of our planes inadvertently violating the airspace of other countries--and this has happened on our frontier with Turkey and Iran--we have apologized to those countries and punished those responsible for such violations. We want to warn those who may try to send their spies into this country to think well about the consequences.

Question: Do you still want President Eisenhower to come to the Soviet Union?

Khrushchev: What shall I say? Take my place and say it for me. (Laughter) You see for yourselves what difficulties are cropping up. I am frank with you. You know my attitude to the President of the United States. I have often spoken about it, but my hopes have been somewhat disappointed.

I am a man, and I have human feelings. I am responsible for the direction of the Soviet Government. You must understand that we, the Russians, the Soviet people, always go whole hog. When we play, we play; and when we fight, we fight. So how can I now call on our people to turn out and welcome the dear guest that is coming to us? The people will say: Are you nuts? What kind of a dear guest is he who lets a plane fly over us to spy? The American militarists who sent a plane on a spying mission to this country have put me, as the one responsible for the arrangement for the U.S. President's arrival in the USSR, in a very difficult position. Frankly speaking, I think the U.S. President himself understands this.

Suppose before my visit to the United States, we had sent such a plane over there and they had shot it down. One can imagine the kind of welcome I would have received from Americans. They would have met me according to my deserts. I think everybody understands that.

One can guarantee, however, that during the President's visit there will be no excesses. Our people are courteous; they let off steam in words and will leave it to the government to act. They will not indulge in any insulting actions. I think that American journalists and tourists now feel the constraint and discipline. I have not heard of anyone making any insulting remark to an American. This is commendable. This speaks of the strong spirit of our people.

Question: Will the flight of this plane come up at the summit?

Khrushchev: It is already the subject of worldwide discussion. Therefore, I believe there is no need to put it on the discussion schedule of the summit conference. We are allowing for the fact that I alone will represent the socialist countries at the conference, while the Western powers will have three representatives there. But I do not think that two of these three approve this aggressive, dangerous act of American brasshats.

Apparently, you would like to know when I intend to fly to Paris. I intend to arrive in Paris May 14, a day or even two before the conference starts, to get acclimated a little. I liked Paris; it's a nice city. (Animation) And if others do not come--I mention this because some are threatening that the conference may not take place--then it will be clear that it is not our fault that the conference did not take place. So we shall go to Paris! And if the conference does not take place? Well, we have lived without it for many years and will live for another hundred. (Laughter, applause)

It is not our country alone that is interested in the conference. The whole world is interested in it. The peoples of the whole world want international tensions to relax, want normalization of international relations. I believe our partners in the negotiations are interested in the conference to no less extent than the Soviet Union. Therefore, the conference will depend upon our partners. We are ready. I repeat, I intend to emplane for Paris on Saturday, May 14.

Some diplomats take offense and say that Khrushchev is indulging in too harsh expressions. I should like to have heard their reactions had a similar aggressive invasion been committed against their country. What do you expect of me, after all--that I should take off my hat and welcome this invasion? No, we shall meet gangsters in the manner they deserve. And this was a gangster, bandit raid. (Applause)

Have you seen here the "air sampling instruments?" (Laughter) How can the authors of this fib look us in the eye after it was exposed? True, we know what kind of eyes imperialists have. As the saying goes, spit in their eyes and they would keep saying: God's dew. (Laughter, applause)

Now you see, I deliberately did not tell the whole story at the Supreme Soviet session because we knew with whom we were dealing. We did not say at first that the pilot was alive, that the instruments were intact, that the plane did not explode. They believed that the pilot committed suicide; and now that he is alive the American press seriously reprimands the pilot for a breach of his instructions, for failure to commit suicide, surrendering instead.

Some in the United States say that the pilot must be brought to trial for violating instructions and failing to destroy himself. Well, this is bestial talk. This is the ideology of imperialism. You, gentlemen, American journalists, you read your newspapers. Don't you question this as a horrible thing?

Question: Did not the American charge d'affaires ask for an interview with Powers?

N.S. Khrushchev: The Americans have sent us a note on this question and asked to be allowed to have an interview with him. But they themselves understand this is too much. The pilot is now under investigation; he is a spy, isn't he? So how can one speak about an interview with him? He must answer before our Soviet court.

Question: Does this mean that neither the ambassador nor the charge d'affaires will be allowed to see Powers?

N.S. Khrushchev: I did not say that. Maybe they will, maybe they will not. We shall see later. We cannot reply to this question now because the investigation is in progress.

Question: Will you regard flights of aircraft of the Western powers to Berlin as aggressive actions after the signing of a peace treaty with East Germany?

N.S. Khrushchev: We have already made a statement in this connection. I repeat: after the signing of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, the status determined by the terms emanating from the military surrender for this territory will change. From that moment, the occupation of West Berlin will be over. All access to Berlin which was based upon Germany's surrender will cease from that moment. Then the GDR will exercise full control over its territory and will also control access to West Berlin, which is located on its territory. If the GDR comes to terms with the countries concerned and allows them to use the airspace, the waterways, the rail, and highways, this will no longer be our business; that will be the business of the GDR. That is its sovereign right.

Some say that the Western powers will force their way into West Berlin. I want to make it clear that if anyone tries to force his way, our military units stationed in the GDR to safeguard peace will counter the force of violators of peace with their own force. Let some hotheads in the West ponder what would come out of that for them.

Question: Considering this aircraft incident and your attitude toward President Eisenhower, wouldn't you prefer Eisenhower's visit to be postponed?

Khrushchev: We shall exchange views with the President on this question when we meet in Paris. We still want to find ways to improve relations with America. We want to have normal relations with the United States, and we believe that with time Soviet-American relations must grow into friendly relations between the peoples of our countries. That would be normal, and that is what all normal people are striving for and will continue to strive for. Any more questions?

Voices: No, thank you. (Hearty applause)

Khrushchev: I have this to say: We deal harshly with those who invade the borders of our homeland, who violate our sovereignty. But we want to live in peace and friendship with all nations. I hope you will understand our attitude when we angrily condemn such aggressive actions. But we take a sober view of things and realize that even the sharpest polemics are better than war.

This is why we shall do everything to have this strain relieved, shall do everything to normalize the international situation and restore good relations with the United States, if, of course, the United States also contributes to this.

I should ask you to take this into account and not write anything that could increase tension still further. What do you need it for? After all, you too will be in for trouble if a war breaks out. (Applause) A war does not bring happiness to anyone. During the past few days I have read many statements by American senators, congressmen, and businessmen, and I believe it is a good sign that many of them deplore this action of their government. I believe it is a good sign that people do not take leave of their senses, that not everyone explains the matter as Herter does.

Question: What would you like to wish the French people in connection with your trip to Paris?

Khrushchev: The French people have given me a good welcome, just as the American people have, but of course I do not want to set one people against the other. However, my visit to France was undertaken later and impressions are therefore fresher.

I am very much pleased not only with the welcome given to me by the French people but also with the talks I had with President de Gaulle. As to the people--well, all peoples want peace. Wars are started by governments, while the people's lot is to spill their blood. This is why they all want peace. The French people also want peace. We fought against militarist Germany together with France. If war breaks out--and it can be unleashed by West Germany--Frenchmen will remember that they had a good ally in the past--the Soviet Union. This ally may come in handy again. But it is best we prevent war and be allies in the struggle for peace.

I think it is time to end this impromptu press conference. Let me thank you, dear comrades and gentlemen; let me wish you success. Uphold the truth, the noble cause of peace, and you will earn the respect of your peoples. (Hearty applause, shouts: "spasibo!")

ESPIONAGE AS STATE POLICY

The history of diplomacy can probably show no more convincing documents than those which are collected in this chapter. Over the course of several days Government departments of the U.S.A. contrived to publish a whole series of statements, full of remarkable contradictions. Here is a "categorical denial" of the espionage nature of the flight of the "U-2" plane and tales about scientific investigations over Lake Van, virtuous indignation at the shocking accusations of espionage, and a denial of "denials" and simultaneous references to the ignorance of Washington authorities. And, finally, the boundless cynicism and insolence of the declaration: "Yes, we have spied and we will continue to spy." We will in the future violate the sovereignty of other States!"

The contradictory versions concerning the flight of the American plane are evidence of the unprecedented confusion which seized Washington after the dangerous provocative actions of the U.S.A. had been revealed. No matter how much the American leaders have shifted and dodged, they have not succeeded in escaping responsibility for these activities which are harming the cause of peace. Unsilenceable facts have pushed them to the wall. The aggressive circles of the U.S.A. have been caught in a deliberate deception of public opinion. Let no one forget what was published...

STATEMENT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE US STATE DEPARTMENT WHITE, ON 5 MAY

The State Department was informed by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration that, as they were informed on 3 May, an unarmed aircraft, the "U-2", a meteorological research plane, based at Adana (Turkey) and flown by a civilian pilot--had been missing since 1 May. During the flight the pilot had reported malfunctions of his oxygen equipment.

Khrushchev has stated that an American plane was brought down over the USSR on that date. It is possible that this was the missing and unreported plane. It is perfectly possible that in connection with a malfunction of the oxygen equipment, as a result of which the pilot had lost consciousness, the airplane continued its flight on the automatic pilot for a considerable distance and accidentally penetrated Soviet air space.

The United States has brought this matter to the attention of the Soviet Government and expressed particular interest in the fate of the pilot.

This is what the American State Department said immediately after N. S. Khrushchev's report to the USSR Supreme Soviet on the case of the American airplane downed on 1 May. The State Department statement paints a peaceful picture of the flight of a "meteorological" plane which had strayed from its course as a result of a malfunction of the oxygen equipment and had "accidentally" flown into Soviet airspace. In short, there was, they say, no espionage involved. "I am not I, and the airplane is not mine but belongs to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration".

This administration was not slow in putting out its own statement in which it "authoritatively" confirmed the American State Department version. It seems the airplane was only engaged in a "study of high-altitude atmospheric conditions and wind currents" over the Lake Van area. And it is too bad that there happened to be "trouble with the oxygen equipment" and the plane was reported missing.

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION ON 5 MAY

NYT 6 May 60 p.7

One of N. A. S. A.'s U-2 research airplanes, in use since 1956 in a continuing program to study gust-meteorological conditions found at high altitude, has been missing since 9 o'clock Sunday morning (local time), when its pilot reported he was having oxygen difficulties over the Lake Van, Turkey, area.

The airplane had taken off from Incirli [Incirlik] Air Base, Turkey. The flight plan called for the first check point to be at 37 degrees 25 minutes north, 41 degrees 23 minutes east, and for a left turn to be made to the Lake Van Beacon; thence to the Trabzon beacon, thence to Antalya and return to Adana. The flight scheduled was estimated at 3 hours 45 minutes, for a total of 1,400 nautical miles. Take-off was at 8 A. M. local time.

(The above-given times are the equivalent of 3 A. M., Sunday, and 2 A. M., Eastern daylight time.)

About one hour after take-off, the pilot reported difficulties with his oxygen equipment. Using emergency radio frequency, he reported he was heading for the Lake Van beacon to get his bearings, and that he would return to Adana.

As indicated above, his flight plan called for him to make a left turn at the Lake Van beacon. His last report indicated he was attempting to receive that beacon. It is believed he probably was on a north-easterly course, but there was no further word.

An aerial search was begun soon after receipt of the last communication. The Lake Van area is mountainous and very rugged. No evidence has been sighted of the aircraft having crashed.

If the pilot continued to suffer lack of oxygen, the path of the airplane from the last reported position would be impossible to determine. If the airplane was on automatic pilot, it is likely it would have continued along its northeasterly course.

The pilot, as are all pilots used on N. A. S. A.'s program of upper-atmosphere research with the U-2 airplane, is a civilian employed by the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, builders of the airplane.

When the research program was begun in 1956 by the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (predecessor to N. A. S. A.), the Federal agency did not have a sufficient number of pilots to operate the program, and so a contract was made with Lockheed to provide the pilots.

Overseas logistic support for N. A. S. A.'s continuing use of the U-2 is provided by Air Weather Service units of the U. S. A. F.

N. A. S. A. has procured a total of ten U-2 airplanes. The airplane was originally built as a private venture by Lockheed to serve as a "flying test bed." It is powered by a single Pratt & Whitney J-57 turbojet engine, and can maintain flight for as long as four hours at altitudes of up to 55,000 feet.

Since inception of the research program in 1956, the U-2 flying weather laboratories have operated from bases in California, New York, Alaska, England, Germany, Turkey, Pakistan, Japan, Okinawa and the Philippines.

The U-2 airplanes are presently being used in California (Edwards A. F. B., one), Japan (Atsugi, three) and Turkey (Adana, four).

The instrumentation carried by the U-2 permits obtaining more precise information about clear-air turbulence, convective clouds, wind shear, the jet stream and such widespread weather patterns as typhoons. The airplane also has been used by N. A. S. A. to obtain information about cosmic rays, and the concentration of certain elements in the atmosphere, including ozone and water vapor.

Instrumentation carried includes: angular velocity recorder, to measure the airplane's rate of pitch; modified V. G. H. recorder, to measure and record head-on gust components in flight; flight recorder model BB, continuous recorder of indicated airspeed, pressure altitude and normal acceleration; airspeed and altitude transducer to measure pressure altitude and indicated airspeed; temperature and humidity measuring set AN/AMQ 7, to measure indicated free air temperature and indicated relative humidity; and vortex ~~thermometer~~ system, to measure true free-air temperature within one-half degree centigrade at high speeds.

This reliable document can't be denied! With scrupulous accuracy the coordinates are given of the plane's flight, all the "scientific" instruments it had on board are listed in detail. How could the honored scientists of the National Administration be engaged in espionage? They aren't interested in anything except air turbulence and turbulence clouds. Frankly, it is monstrous to accuse harmless meteorologists of such dubious activities. "Monstrous", so Mr. White called it also on the following day at his press conference.

US STATE DEPARTMENT PRESS CONFERENCE ON 6 MAY

Washington, 6 May (TASS). The main issue of today's press conference in the State Department was the incident of the American airplane which violated the Soviet border on 1 May. Mr. White, the State Department representative, denied in his answers to questions of correspondents that the airplane had deliberately violated the Soviet border. White asserted that it would be monstrous to maintain that the U.S.A. was attempting to fool the world concerning the real purposes of the plane's flight.

White declared that in downing the American plane the Soviet Union had acted on the principle of "shoot first and investigate later".

Answering a question as to how the United States would react if a Soviet airplane had violated the American border, White said that in such a case the U.S.A. would attempt first to determine the nationality of the airplane, then to cause it to land, and only after such attempts had failed would it undertake hostile actions against such an airplane.

White also declared that he did not know whether or not a magnetophone tape recording was available with a record of conversations between the pilot of the down plane and his base. White declined to amplify this answer in any way.

The reactionary American press lauded the "virtuous" wrath of Mr. White and raised an unbelievable amount of noise about the actions of the Russians who had downed this "scientific" plane.

It is necessary to emphasize in particular Mr. White's characterization as "monstrous" any assertions to the effect that the U.S.A. was attempting to deceive the world regarding the real purposes of the plane's flight. But later Mr. White would have liked very much to cross out these words from the transcript of his press conference. But you see his word is not a sparrow: it flies away--you cannot catch it!

On 7 May Comrade N. S. Khrushchev made his concluding remarks at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. He reported that pilot Powers was alive and has confessed his espionage activities. Comrade N. S. Khrushchev described the items which had been obtained as a result of a search of the downed airplane and its gear, and also from the interrogation of the pilot. The version about a "meteorological" plane had collapsed--a commission of Soviet experts had established that this was a specially equipped reconnaissance aircraft. Collapsed also was the version about the flight over Lake Van--the airplane had been brought down in the vicinity of Sverdlovsk. Collapsed was the version about the "pilot's" loss of consciousness as a result of malfunction in the oxygen equipment"; Powers remained conscious during the flight up to the Urals, photographing military installations along the way, and then jumped by parachute when the Russian anti-aircraft rocket downed his plane.

"Such an unexpected turn of events," Rogers, the correspondent of the New York Herald-Tribune reported, "has deeply embarrassed officials of the State Department". Washington officials have got into a mess in front of the whole world, and they have no other recourse but to acknowledge that they now find themselves in this unenviable position. On May Day the State Department admitted that the "U-2" plane "had undertaken a flight over Soviet territory in order to attempt to obtain information of an intelligence nature.



Part of the canopy of the cockpit of the American plane.

On the evidence of the Washington correspondent of United Press-International, "the motive for the frank disclosure was the fact that Khrushchev was in possession of irrefutable evidence". This is the story in the light of the State Department statement of 7 May.

STATEMENT OF THE US STATE DEPARTMENT ON 7 MAY

NYT 8 May 60 p. 30

The department has received the text of Mr. Khrushchev's further remarks about the unarmed plane which is reported to have been shot down in the Soviet Union. As previously announced, it was known that a U-2 plane was missing. As a result of the inquiry ordered by the President, it has been established that insofar as the authorities are concerned, there was no authorization for any such flights as described by Mr. Khrushchev.

Nevertheless, it appears that in endeavoring to obtain information now concealed behind the Iron Curtain a flight over Soviet territory was probably undertaken by an unarmed civilian U-2 plane.

It is certainly no secret that, given the state of the world today, intelligence collection activities are practiced by all countries and postwar history certainly reveals that the Soviet Union has not been lagging behind in this field. The necessity for such activities as measures for legitimate national defense is enhanced by the excessive secrecy practiced by the Soviet Union in contrast to the free world.

One of the things creating tension in the world today is apprehension over surprise attack with weapons of mass destruction. To reduce mutual suspicion and to get a measure of protection against surprise attack, the United States in 1955 offered its "open skies" proposal--a proposal which was rejected out of hand by the Soviet Union. It is in relation to the danger of surprise attack that planes of the type of the unarmed civilian U-2 aircraft have made flights along the frontiers of the free world for the past four years.

Habit is second nature. Evidently, it is difficult to escape at once from the habit of lying. In admitting through clenched teeth the espionage nature of Powers' flight the State Department was speaking the truth, but it immediately added to it a fine portion of a new lie. How much it costs to cast aspersions on the Soviet Union! The American organizers of espionage are clearly accustomed to measure everything by their own standard.

How they dodge, how they twist and turn, these officials joined together across the ocean! They make believe that they did not give authorization for Powers' flight and at the same time emphasize the "necessity for such activities". It seems they couldn't make both ends of their story meet!

This time the bourgeois American press itself exposed those who were attempted to assume responsibility for the bandit encroachment of the Powers airplane into the air space of the Soviet Union. A columnist in the New York Times, James Reston, who is considered one of the best-informed Washington journalists, reported that the Government of the U.S.A. "for many years had authorized flights over communist territory..." Reston added that Allen Dulles, the chief of American intelligence, regularly visits the White House and informs the highest Government officials concerning his operations.

What can be said about the hypocritical lamentations of the State Department about the "extraordinary secrecy" practiced by the Soviet Union and the insolent demands for an "open sky"? A thief, taken red-handed, explains his deed on the ground that the house was locked up--so peace-loving public opinion derided the clumsy subterfuges of the State Department.

These dodges won't help the State Department, nor will cynical references to the effect that, as they say, "everybody spies." The columnist of the newspaper, New York Herald Tribune, Margaret Higgins thus described mood of the American capital: "The acknowledgement by the State Department on the evening of 7 May that an American airplane had "evidently" deliberately violated the border of Russia was received in our usually loquacious capital in awkward silence, which is indirect evidence that Mr. Khrushchev has gotten us into a mess and, however painful it may be to admit it, that we have gotten ourselves into a mess".

As can be seen in the report of the Washington correspondent of TASS printed below, Mr. White got into a difficult predicament at the press conference on 9 May. The shock which he had sustained evidently deprived this diplomat of his memory. He even forgot what international law is.

PRESS CONFERENCE OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE US STATE DEPARTMENT, WHITE,
ON 9 MAY

Washington, 9 May (TASS). At today's press conference Lincoln White, the State Department press officer declared to correspondents that the United States continued to await an answer from the Soviet Government to its note of 6 May concerning the Powers airplane. With respect to Powers, White said he could say forecast in advance exactly what the State Department would do.

When White in his answers to questions insisted that the Government of the U.S.A. had still not been "informed officially" by the Soviet Union of the plane case, one of the correspondents, amid the friendly laughter of all those present, said: "But the Russians have not been silent about this but have reported all the details of it to the world." White declined any comment on this remark.

A correspondent asked White how the deliberate violation by the United States of the border of another State looks under international law. Forced to the wall, the representative of the State Department declared that he could not answer this question since he did not have a law degree.

White also refused to answer a question as to whether the pilot Powers would be tried under American laws, if the Soviet Union should return him to the United States.

The representative of the State Department maintained, as he had done previously, that he had no information as to exactly who had authorized the Powers flight.

Mister White "has no information" as to exactly who authorized the spy flight over the USSR. But American Secretary of State Herter does have such information. The head of the foreign relations department no longer refers to the "ignorance" of Washington authorities. The Secretary of State stops at nothing. He dots the "i's" and crosses the "t's". He puts spying up on a pedestal. Following is one of the most cynical and insolent documents in the history of diplomacy.

STATEMENT OF US SECRETARY OF STATE HERTER ON 9 MAY

NYT 10 May 1960 p.18

On May 7 the Department of State spokesman made a statement with respect to the alleged shooting down of an unarmed American civilian aircraft of the U-2 type over the Soviet Union. The following supplements and clarifies this statement as respects the position of the United States Government.

Ever since Marshal Stalin shifted the policy of the Soviet Union from wartime cooperation to post-war conflict in 1946, and particularly since the Berlin blockade, the forceful take-over of Czechoslovakia and the Communist aggressions in Korea and Vietnam, the world has lived in a state of apprehension with respect to Soviet intentions.

The Soviet leaders have almost complete access to the open societies of the free world and supplement this with vast espionage networks. However, they keep their own society tightly closed and rigorously controlled. With the development of modern weapons carrying tremendously destructive nuclear warheads, the threat of surprise attack and aggression presents a constant danger. This menace is enhanced by the threats of mass destruction frequently voiced by the Soviet leadership.

Western Proposals Recalled

For many years the United States in company with its allies has sought to lessen or even to eliminate this threat from the life of man so that he can go about his peaceful business without fear. Many proposals to this end have been put up to the Soviet Union.

The President's "open skies" proposal of 1955 was followed in 1957 by the offer of an exchange of ground observers between agreed military installations in the United States, the U. S. S. R. and other nations that might wish to participate. For several years we have been seeking the mutual abolition of the restrictions on travel imposed by the Soviet Union and those which the United States felt obliged to institute on a reciprocal basis. More recently, at the Geneva disarmament conference the United States has proposed far - reaching new measures of controlled disarmament.

It is possible that the Soviet leaders have a different version and that, however unjustifiedly, they fear attack from the West, but this is hard to reconcile with their continual rejection of our repeated proposals for effective measures against surprise attack and for effective inspection of disarmament measures.

I will say frankly that it is unacceptable that the Soviet political system should be given an opportunity to make secret preparations to face the free world with the choice of abject surrender or nuclear destruction.

U. S. Responsibility Noted

The Government of the United States would be derelict to its responsibility not only to the American people but to free peoples everywhere if it did not, in the absence of Soviet cooperation, take such measures as are possible unilaterally to lessen and to overcome this danger of surprise attack. In fact, the United States has not and does not shirk this responsibility.

In accordance with the National Security Act of 1947, the President has put into effect since the beginning of his Administration directives to gather by every possible means the information required to protect the United States and the free world against surprise attack and to enable them to make effective preparations for their defense.

Under these directives programs have been developed and put into operation which have included extensive aerial surveillance by unarmed civilian aircraft, normally of a peripheral character but on occasion by penetration. Specific missions of these unarmed civilian aircraft have not been subject to Presidential authorization.

Soviet Motives Questioned

The fact that such surveillance was taking place has apparently not been a secret to the Soviet leadership, and the question indeed arises as to why at this particular juncture they should seek to exploit the present incident as a propaganda battle in the cold war.

This Government had sincerely hoped and continues to hope that in the coming meeting of the heads of government in Paris Chairman Khrushchev would be prepared to cooperate in agreeing to effective measures which would remove this fear of sudden mass destruction from the minds of people everywhere.

Far from being damaging to the forthcoming meeting in Paris, this incident should serve to underline the importance to the world of an earnest attempt there to achieve agreed and effective safeguards against surprise attack and aggression.

At my request and with the authority of the President, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Honorable Allen W. Dulles, is today briefing members of the Congress fully along the foregoing lines.

Thus, on the pretext that the Soviet frontier is closed the American Secretary of State boldly justified and attempts to make lawful the violation of the borders of other States for the purpose of espionage.

It is obvious to everyone that the "penetration" of which Herter speaks is nothing but the marauding intrusion of reconnaissance planes into the air space of other States.

Spying and diversions are proclaimed as the official policy of the U.S.A. We will violate the sovereignty and inviolability of the frontiers of other States, justifying this by references to "the national defence requirements of the U.S.A."--such is the essence of Herter's statement.

Who can trust Herter's assertions to the effect that such an unheard-of trampling on generally accepted standards of international life contributes..to prevention of aggression and does not harm the cause of peace!

Or, perhaps, Mister Herter, like White, does not know what international law is?

Who profits from these base attempts to return mankind to the worst times of the "cold war"? It is worth noticing that the most arch-reactionally newspapers --the worst haters of peace-- were the first in the U.S.A. to laud Herter's statement. "We will continue aerial spying; Herter throws down the gauntlet," delightedly proclaims the little gangster newspaper "Daily News".

But all sober-minded Americans will remind themselves of the enormous dangers which the policy of "penetrations" is fraught with. In fact, the Washington newspaper, the "News" comments on the statement of the Secretary of State that Herter "supposed that peace is consistent with the United States playing all over the world the role of a watchdog, not the secret but the open role of self-styled policeman."

Numerous American public figures and well-informed persons understand how much the United States is risking at this time, under present conditions, in taking upon itself the role of a "self-styled policeman". But what is the opinion of D. Eisenhower, the President of the U.S.A. on the provocative flights of American aircraft?

STATEMENT OF D. EISENHOWER, PRESIDENT OF THE USA AT A PRESS CONFERENCE ON 11 MAY

NYT 12 May 60 p. 14

I have made some notes from which I want to talk to you about this U-2 incident.

A full statement about this matter has been made by the State Department and there have been several statesmanlike remarks by leaders of both parties.

For my part, I supplement what the Secretary of State has had to say, with the following four main points. After that I shall have nothing further to say--for the simple reason I can think of nothing to add that might be useful at this time.

The first point is this: The need for intelligence-gathering activities. No one wants another Pearl Harbor. This means that we must have knowledge of military forces and preparations around the world, especially those capable of massive surprise attack.

Secrecy in the Soviet Union makes this essential. In most of the world no large-scale attack could be prepared in secret, but in the Soviet Union there is a fetish of secrecy and concealment. This is a major cause of international tension and uneasiness today. Our deterrent must never be placed in jeopardy. The safety of the whole free world demands this.

As the Secretary of State pointed out in his recent statement, ever since the beginning of my Administration I have issued directives to gather, in every feasible way, the information required to protect the United States and the free world against surprise attack and to enable them to make effective preparations for defense.

My second point: The nature of intelligence-gathering activities.

'Below the Surface'

These have a special and secret character. They are, so to speak, "below the surface" activities. They are secret because they must circumvent measures designed by other countries to protect secrecy of military preparations.

They are divorced from the regular visible agencies of government which stay clear of operational involvement in specific detailed activities.

These elements operate under broad directives to seek and gather intelligence short of the use of force--with operations supervised by responsible officials within this area of secret activities.

We do not use our Army, Navy or Air Force for this purpose, first to avoid any possibility of the use of force in connection with these activities, and second, because our military forces, for obvious reasons, cannot be given latitude under broad directives, but must be kept under strict control in every detail.

These activities have their own rules and methods of concealment which seek to mislead and obscure--just as in the Soviet allegations there are many discrepancies. For example, there is some reason to believe that the plane in question was not shot down at high altitude. The normal agencies of our Government are unaware of these specific activities or of the special efforts to conceal them.

Third point: How should we view all of this activity?

Distasteful but Vital

It is a distasteful but vital necessity.

We prefer and work for a different kind of world--and a different way of obtaining the information essential to confidence and effective deterrents. Open societies, in the day of present weapons, are the only answer.

This was the reason for my "open skies" proposal in 1955, which I was ready instantly to put into effect--to permit aerial observation over the United States and the Soviet Union which would assure that no surprise attack was being prepared against anyone. I shall bring up the "open skies" proposal again at Paris--since it is a means of ending concealment and suspicion.

My final point is that we must not be distracted from the real issues of the day by what is an incident or a symptom of the world situation today.

This incident has been given great propaganda exploitation. The emphasis given to a flight of an unarmed nonmilitary plane can only reflect a fetish of secrecy.

The real issues are the ones we will be working on at the summit--disarmament, search for solutions affecting Germany and Berlin and the whole range of East-West relations, including the reduction of secrecy and suspicion.

Frankly, I am hopeful that we may make progress on these great issues. This is what we mean when we speak of "working for peace."

And as I remind you, I will have nothing further to say about this matter.

It is clear that the President of the U.S.A. fully endorses the statement by K. Herter. He emphasized that he wished to only to add "four main points" to what the Secretary of State had said on 9 May. However, the first point alone ("the need for intelligence-gathering activities") would be sufficient to cause alarm to the peace-loving public. Espionage activity is "a distasteful, but vital necessity" so the President declares in the hearing of all. Eisenhower defends the collection of military information "by all possible means".

Who is in doubt as to the policy which the American President is sanctioning?

It is a policy of flagrant military provocations, seriously sharpening international tension and fraught with the most catastrophic consequences. It is a policy of granting a free hand to American militarists who have a liking, as is well known, for military adventures.

The statements of the leaders of the foreign policy of the U.S.A. on the flights of American reconnaissance aircraft has aroused grave alarm and anxiety on the part of public opinion in all countries, including the U.S.A. To put an end once and for all to provocative actions which poison the international situation--this is the unanimous demand of all those to whom peace is dear.

UNDER THE FIRE OF THE CRITICS

The dangerous provocative actions of the American militarists came immediately under heavy fire of criticism. Representatives of very broad sections of the American public, realistically assessing the situation on the international scene, realize that base violation of the borders of the socialist camp cannot help either the cause of general peace or the interests of the American people. Many Congressmen, public and political figures, scholars, businessmen are demanding insistently that the Government of the U.S.A. take effective measures for the prevention of dangerous flights over the territories of the Soviet Union and other sovereign States.

ALARMED CONGRESSMEN

The Washington correspondent of the United Press-International agency in a despatch of 8 May thus described the reaction in the American Congress to the flight of the spy plane, the "U-2".

"Angry Congressional leaders of both parties demanded today thorough investigation of the case of the flight of an American airplane over Soviet territory for intelligence purposes."

"Some of them were particularly angered by the fact that this flight was undertaken, as the State Department declared, without the knowledge of President Eisenhower and within a week [sic] before the President's trip to Paris for the summit meeting with Soviet Prime Ministers Khrushchev and British and French leaders."

"One influential member of Congress -- a Republican, who asked that his remarks be reported without mentioning his name, was particularly aroused by the incident. "Worthless" and "stupid" were the most moderate of the expressions he used to characterize the policy of the State Department in this matter."

"Among the Congressmen, who demanded an investigation of the case, were Mike Mansfield, the assistant leader of the Democrats in the Senate, and Styles Bridges, chairman of the Political Committee of the Republican Party in the Senate."

"In separate interviews they declared that they expect the appropriate committees of the Senate to summon Government representatives to give a complete explanation."

"Bridges called on the Senate Armed Forces Committee to take immediate measures and to question Government officials "in order that Congress can find out what is happening." Bridges is one of the leading members of this committee."

The correspondent of the newspaper, the New York Times, Smith, reported from Washington: "The reaction in Congressional circles to the admission of the State Department that the American airplane, shot down by the Soviet Union, was collecting intelligence information, was characterized by expressions of anger, alarm, and demands that an investigation be held."

A majority of Congressmen expressed the opinion that if such a risky flight could be undertaken within a few days of the summit meeting, then the State Department must have control over the agencies which collect intelligence information. Nevertheless, several members of Congress cautiously maintained that operations of this type were necessary..."

Here are the redfaced statements of some members of the American Congress in the accounts of American correspondents.

SENATOR MANSFIELD

I hope that the Government and Congress will try to discover the dangerous defects in the structure of the executive power...the roots of that irresponsibility which results in such incidents.

The President was on the eve of a very important world conference at a time of world crisis. The unfavorable comments on the foreign policy of the United States from all over the world have only just begun to come in, but they are heard loudly and ominously everywhere from Norway to Japan.

Besides, this or any similar incident is fully capable through an unhappy accident of setting off the nuclear conflict which we are trying to avoid at heavy cost and sacrifice.

The final result of the orders which authorized the flight of this airplane was very serious harm to our efforts in support of peace. The facts of this incident can't be called pleasant, and Congress should face them directly.

SENATOR W. ROBERTSON

The United States made a tragic blunder in violating the frontier of the Soviet Union.

SENATOR H. HUMPHREY

Khrushchev has now gotten the upper hand over us in the propaganda battle and here is why: we do not speak the truth...We are resorting to all kinds of subterfuges in our policy instead of applying all our efforts to developing a firm program.

SENATOR F. CHURCH

The members of Congress concerned with foreign policy should know who is in control, who gives the orders and who checks on them.

Khrushchev has won a tremendous diplomatic victory. For us this is a defeat.

REPRESENTATIVE B. JOHNSON

I am distressed to see that there are officials who, immediately before an international conference of heads of government, attempt to justify and excuse provocative actions which threaten the lives of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world.

In this connection Johnson advised members of the House of Representatives of the U.S.A. to read carefully the speech of N. S. Khrushchev at the reception at the Czechoslovak embassy and inserted in the Congressional Record the entire text of the speech of the head of the Soviet Government.

The Senator [sic] also called on President Eisenhower to reverse his decision on the resumption of underground nuclear explosions and to undertake energetic efforts to achieve an agreement on a ban on testing of nuclear weapons.

REPRESENTATIVE J. QUIGLEY

Congressman Quigley inserted in the Congressional Record an article published in the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Patriot-News, by Edwin Russell who writes from London concerning President Eisenhower's loss of prestige in the eyes of the British public as a result of the spy flight of the American airplane over Soviet territory. Russell says: "The parachute which bore the young Francis Powers to the earth, drew down with it also the prestige of President Eisenhower... At a time when confidence in American leadership is extremely necessary, it has been gravely weakened."

SENATOR C. ENGEL

The Government's position on the incident of the airplane cannot be supported. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations must quietly investigate what has happened. I would suggest that the committee talk in closed session with the Secretary of State and find out how we can get out of the difficult situation in which we find ourselves.

REPRESENTATIVE C. VENICK

I am not one of the members of the House of Representatives who are inclined to hail those persons in the Government who are responsible for explaining the flights of an American airplane over the territory of Soviet Russia on a spy mission on the eve of the summit conference. All those who were responsible at the time for this crude blunder should take responsibility for the already poor prospects for achieving at the summit conference any kind of success and to the world's hopes for peace.

SENATOR J. FULBRIGHT

The choice of a time for this matter was unfortunate.

SENATOR R. RUSSELL

The military leaders of the U.S.A. have displayed almost unbelievable stupidity in sending a spy plane over Russian territory on the very eve of the summit conference. It is like a boy who is caught with his hand in the jam jar. Not one sane-minded person doubts but that we attempted to learn the location of their military bases.

REPRESENTATIVE C. BOWLES

The flight of the American airplane is an irresponsible and reckless act. It would be a mistake now to permit an American airplane even to approach the Soviet border.

SENATOR SPARKMAN

This flight has compromised us.

REPRESENTATIVE D. FASCELL

The worst aspect of this incident is the tremendous psychological advantage which the Soviets have gained on the eve of the international meeting. The best thing for Congress to do is to keep quiet.

THE AMERICANS ARE AROUSED, THE AMERICANS CONDEMN

From New York to San Francisco the aggressive actions of American air power have aroused a tide of alarm. Organizations and public figures with very different political views have made angry protests. We present below several statements as translated from reports of telegraph agencies and newspaper correspondents.

A MOST GRAVE MATTER

Cyrus Eaton, financier and public figure

I well understand the determined protest of Premier Khrushchev against numerous provocations and provocative statements made by irresponsible little officials at the State Department and the Pentagon.

The well-known American journalist, Walter Lippmann recently protested against these aggressive statements which contain insulting epithets against the Soviet Union.

The American people demand that their representatives regard the forthcoming summit conference as a matter of the utmost gravity. And I still have a deep hope that the Government and people of the Soviet Union will not allow themselves to be too much impressed by the lightminded and unimportant speeches, letters, and articles fished out of the ink pots of petty American officials. It must be remembered that the number and influence are steadily of those lunatics and psychotics who wish to start a war.

DOES THIS HELP THE CAUSE OF PEACE?

Adlai Stevenson, public figure

Stevenson expressed the hope that the summit meeting will find a means to relax the tension since "our Government has recently found several good methods for increasing it...

The disclosure of the flight of a spy plane and the simultaneous announcement we are unilaterally resuming nuclear tests cannot raise our reputation as a defender of world peace.

Can reconnaissance flights over the very heart of the Soviet Union on the eve of the long-awaited summit conference contribute to the cause of peace and mutual confidence?"

THE DANGER OF AN ATOMIC WAR

Leo Szilard, Professor at the Fermi Institute of Nuclear Physics

If today an unarmed airplane can carry out without approval a flight over Russia for the purpose of aerial photography, then tomorrow another airplane, carrying perhaps an atomic bomb, can without authorization make a flight in order to drop this bomb on a Russian city.

The Atomic Energy Commission decided that Robert Oppenheimer was not fit to be a consultant on the grounds that many years ago he deliberately told an untruth to a single Government official. But what is to be said of Government officials who spin a web of lies, when it is a matter of politically important questions, in order to delude the people, Congress, and our allies? It seems to me that the persons guilty of spreading these fables in connection with the incident of the airplane, should be sent into retirement or, if they still have good sense, they should themselves resign, if they are not asked to do so.

FIRE THOSE RESPONSIBLE

Harold Stassen, former adviser to the President of the U.S.A.

The American airplane, downed in Russia on 1 May, was sent there deliberately by some of our military leaders in order to wreck the summit meeting which was set for 16 May.

I doubt that the President knew or approved of this flight. If he did not know then he should remove from their commands the officers who participated in this affair, however high the position they may occupy.

"WE MAY GET INTO SERIOUS TROUBLE"

Walter Reuther, President of the United Auto Workers Union

Nothing could be more tragic than this incident with the airplane on the eve of the summit conference. If we continue to make such mistakes, we will get into trouble, into serious trouble.

DON'T HINDER NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIA

A congress of Young Democrats of the State of California declared that it was staggered by the admission of the United States that an American airplane had undertaken what participants at the congress called "grave provocative actions" over Russian territory. Participants in the congress adopted a resolution which called on the Government of the U.S.A. to tell the people who had authorized the flight over Russia.

"We think," the resolution, emphasizes, "that this was only one of many provocative and warlike actions and statements made by the military authorities including the Central Intelligence Agency in their attempt to make it impossible for the President and the State Department to conduct negotiations with Russia."

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WISH PEACE

Statement of the National Secretariat of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

The flight of an American spy plane over the center of the Soviet Union has aroused alarm and anger everywhere. There have been few occasions on which the American people have shown such indignation as a result of the activities of its own Government. And it is even more disturbing that this shameful incident should have occurred on the very eve of the long-awaited conversations on the highest level.

This provocative act, fraught with the danger of unleashing a war, cannot be considered as an isolated and accidental affair. It is an element in a sequence aimed at poisoning the atmosphere before the summit meeting, a sequence which is being followed by hardfaced proponents of the Dulles line on the "cold war". Here belong the recent bellicose speeches of Secretary of State Herter, Deputy Secretary of State Dillon and Vice President Nixon on the Berlin question. It is obvious that the same can be said of the recent conference of the AFL-CIO, held at the instigation of George Meany for the purpose of wrecking the summit meeting.

The incident of the airplane is an uneasy reminder that we have still not rid ourselves of a "preventive war" frame of mind.

It is reminded that powerful forces exist--first of all, those who are fanning the flames of the "cold war"--proponents of the "cold war" in the State Department and the Pentagon and the sinister, highly secret Central Intelligence Agency headed by Allen Dulles--who are profoundly troubled by the successes of the peace movement and who are prepared to do anything to wreck the summit conference even at the risk of starting a war.

This incident cannot be explained on the grounds that "everybody carries on espionage". It is well known that other governments do not practice such aerial espionage. And no government can claim for itself the right to engage in such sorties in the air over the territories of other countries.

Not less hypocritical is the argument that such activities are justified by the disposition of the Soviet Union to keep everything secret and the fear of sudden attack. Actually a full week before, the Defence Department had reported that, according to all available information, the Soviet Union did not intend to start a war and that, consequently, our whole approach to national defence should be re-examined.

Particularly ominous is the statement that such a dangerous game is being played without the knowledge of the President. The responsibility for such actions cannot be avoided either by President Eisenhower or by

any other Government official. The duty of the President to the American people, who expect from him an effort to put into practice the spirit of Camp David--is to condemn severely such actions and to refute the statement of Secretary of State Herter that they will be continued.

This fiasco, whatever its significance, does not change essentially the situation with respect to the summit conference. On the contrary, it shows that it is even more necessary to reach an agreement at the summit. And it particularly clearly demonstrates what a threat to peace is hidden in the present intolerable status of West Berlin.

Something more is needed, however. A very full investigation is required of the question as to how such shameful actions were possible and those responsible for them should be removed. And all Government and political officials should speak out so that the people may pass judgement on them.

The American people wish peace as much as before. It wishes that an end may be made to the "cold war". No less than before, it hopes that at the summit meeting President Eisenhower will exert all his efforts in order to achieve an agreement on the banning of nuclear tests, progress towards general disarmament, and end the dangerous situation in West Berlin.

National Secretariat
Communist Party of the U.S.A.
General Secretary Gus Hall

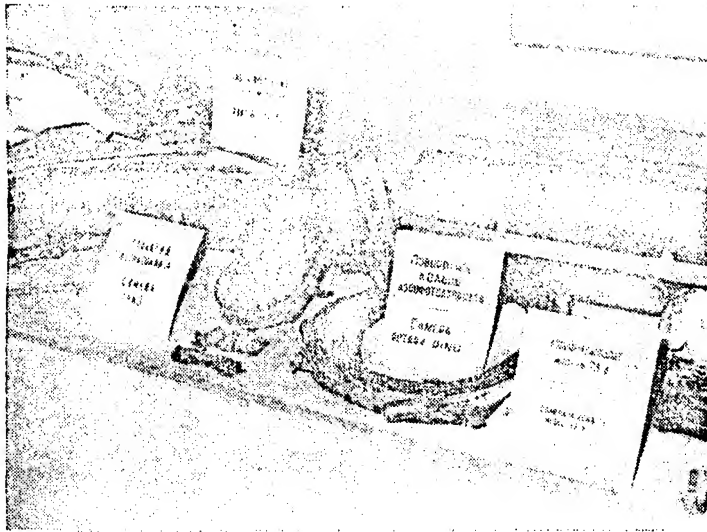
TRUTH STRIKES HOME

The political shock, which was caused in Washington by the disclosure of the aggressive actions of the American militarists in sending an aerial pirate into the sky over the Soviet Union, found very colorful expression in the pages of the press of the United States. Reading these pages, every healthy minded person is again convinced that lies have very short legs on which they cannot travel far.

The attempts of some American newspapers to help official circles to hide the scandals fix into which Allen Dulles' department has fallen, have hardly any relation with reality. And very quickly the ringleaders of the American propaganda machine realized that it was useless to paint the blemish on the unattractive face of the Washington's policies, that it was better to admit the raid of the American aerial marauder against Soviet territory. And then they attempted to make a virtue out of this piracy!

Thus forced admissions appeared on the pages of the American press. At the same time their authors, without wishing to, ruthlessly tore the mask off of American imperialism. There was in these admissions such base evasiveness, cynicism, striving by every kind of truth and untruth to pass espionage off as Government policy, piratical raids as a "vital necessity," the "open sky" plan as the last word in State wisdom! How clearly shows in them the base cowardice of a thief, who has been caught red-handed, a thief who is afraid to stand before the public with all his skeleton keys!

The declarations of the American press run the whole gamut of views and "emotions"-- from the foul language which the gutter newspaper the Daily News showers on the Soviet Union, to the sober discussions of the well-informed Reston in the New York Times. But in all these statements is shown clearly the embarrassment and confusion of those who stand before the world as persons who are playing with fire in the most dangerous way.



Instruments and gear of the American airplane.



Antenna and magnetophone of the American airplane.

Many well-informed persons expressed dismay that henceforth millions of people will again be convinced that Washington's policies represent a threat to peace. The attempts of prominent Americans "to justify the situation" only poured oil on the flames of distrust concerning Washington's real intentions. The result was a further swift drop in the prestige of the United States.

"The country, it seems, has been humiliated by absentmindedness in the highest quarter of the Government," writes Walter Lippmann. He is right, speaking of the humiliation, but is clearly handling too gently the cause in calling it "absentmindedness". You see, absentmindedness never was and never will be considered a synonym for aggression. And in this case that is exactly what it is, aggression...

Below is reprinted a series of commentaries from the American press on the events connected with the intrusion of the American intelligence plane into the air space of the Soviet Union

A DIRTY BUSINESS

Walter Lippmann

In the muddle and mess of the affair of the spy plane there is one critical question of particular urgency and importance that needs to be dealt with. This is the official statement made with the President's approval that "it has been established that insofar as the authorities in Washington are concerned there was no authorization for such flight as described by Mr. Khrushchev." If this is true, then the command of very dangerous military missions is not securely and unquestionably in the hands of the responsible authorities in Washington, in the hands, that is to say, of the President, the Secretary of State, the Chiefs of Staff, and the Director of Central Intelligence.

Who, then, has the authority? If the authority to order a deep penetration of Soviet territory with a military reconnaissance plane is in some headquarters command not in Washington, how do we know, how does the world know, that the authority to strike a blow is not also outside Washington?

In denying that it authorized the flight, the Administration has entered a plea of incompetence. For there can be no acceptable excuse for an unauthorized flight of this kind. The President cannot afford to let the question of where the responsibility to authorize such flights resides go by without an unequivocal answer. By word and by deed he must remove all doubt that the authority to command in these dangerous matters is in Washington and nowhere else. The honor, the self-respect, and the self-confidence of the country demand it.

Although it is no doubt true that the President did not himself authorize this particular flight, it is no doubt true also that he knew such flights were being made. The general public was perhaps surprised to hear about them. But for the Russians and for others among us there was no surprise at all.

Why, then, knowing that such flights were being made, did the President fail to realize the risks of continuing them right up to the meeting at the summit? Is it because he was not paying sufficient attention? Is it because his closest advisers were not paying sufficient attention? It looks like that. It seems as if the country has been humiliated by absentmindedness in the highest quarters of the Government.

There is nothing shocking or novel, of course, in the disclosure that we have been spying on the Russians. They have been spying on us. Spying is in its very nature a dirty business, outside the law and outside the moral code. The only crime recognized in the spy business is to be caught, although this crime can be compounded by lying about it and then being caught in the lie itself.

In this affair, there is on the record as we know it serious prima-facie evidence, not of unusual immorality but of inefficiency. Why did not the President forbid all such flights when the summit meeting was agreed to? It is not enough to say that he did not authorize this flight. Why did he not forbid it?

There is reason to suspect, also, that whoever did authorize the flight and was responsible for preparing it was unaware that the Russians had developed a missile capable of knocking the plane down. The equipment carried by the pilot, the Soviet money, and the poison needle suggests that he was prepared for a forced landing through engine trouble perhaps, after which he would work his way across country or failing that and having been caught would commit suicide.

What the pilot was not prepared for was to have his plane disabled by a Russian missile. For this meant that the Russians had him spotted. Under these circumstances once his plane had been hit, his money and his poison needle were useless. If he had killed himself, if he had exploded his plane, there would still have been his corpse and the wreckage of his plane, twelve hundred miles inside the Soviet Union.

It was a failure of intelligence not to realize that the Soviets had a missile capable of knocking down so high flying a plane. It was inefficient not to take this possibility into account as a factor which greatly multiplied the risks of making such a flight on the eve of the summit meeting.

(From the New York Herald Tribune of 10 May)

In the whirl of incidents following the capture of the spy plane the Administration has ventured, perhaps the right word for it would be stumbled, into an untenable policy which is entirely unprecedented in international affairs. Our position now seems to be that because it is so difficult to collect information inside the Soviet Union, it will henceforth be our avowed policy to fly over Soviet territory, using the territory of our Allies as bases.

Although the intention here is to be candid and honest and also to make the best of a piece of very bad luck, the new policy-which seems to have been improvised between Saturday and Monday -is quite unworkable.

To avow that we intend to violate Soviet sovereignty is to put everybody on the spot. It makes it impossible for the Soviet government to play down this particular incident because now it is challenged openly in the face of the whole world. It is compelled to react because no nation can remain passive when it is the avowed policy of another nation to intrude upon its territory. The avowal of such a policy is an open invitation to the Soviet government to take the case to the United Nations, where our best friends will be grievously embarrassed. The avowal is also a challenge to the Soviet Union to put pressure on Pakistan, Turkey, Norway, Japan, and any other country which has usable bases. Our Allies are put on the spot because they must either violate international law or disavow the United States.

Because the challenge has been made openly, it is almost impossible to deal with this particular incident by quiet diplomacy.

The reader will, I hope, have noticed that my criticism is that we have made these overflights in avowed policy. What is unprecedented about the avowal is not the spying as such but the claim that spying, when we do it, should be accepted by the world as righteous. This is an amateurish and naive view of the nature of spying.

Spying between nations is, of course, the universal practice. Everybody does it as best he can. But it is illegal in all countries, and the spy if caught is subject to the severest punishment. When the spying involves intrusion across frontiers by military aircraft, it is also against international law. Because spying is illegal, its methods are often immoral and criminal. Its methods include bribery, blackmail, perjury, forgery, murder, and suicide.

The spy business cannot be conducted without illegal, immoral, and criminal activities. But all great powers are engaged in the spy business, and as long as the world is as warlike as it has been in all recorded history there is no way of doing without spying.

All the powers know this and all have accepted the situation as one of the hard facts of life. Around this situation there has developed over many generations a code of behavior. The spying is never avowed and therefore the government never acknowledges responsibility for its own clandestine activities. If its agent is caught, the agent is expected to kill himself. In any event, he is abandoned to the mercies of the government that he has spied upon.

The spying is never admitted. If it can be covered successfully by a lie, the lie is told.

All this is not a pretty business, and there is no way of prettifying it or transforming it into something highly moral and wonderful. The cardinal rule, which makes spying tolerable in international relations, is that it is never avowed. For that reason it is never defended, and therefore the aggrieved country makes only as much of a fuss about a particular incident as it can make or as it chooses to make.

We should have abided by that rule. When Mr. K. made his first announcement about the plane, no lies should have been told. The Administration should have said that it was investigating the charge and would then take suitable action. We should then have maintained a cool silence.

This would have left us, of course, with the unpleasant fact that our spy plane had been caught. What really compounded our trouble, and was such a humiliation to us, is that before we knew how much Mr. K. knew we published the official lie about its being a weather plane. Then finding ourselves trapped in this blatant and gratuitous lie, we have tried to extricate ourselves by rushing into the declaration of a new and unprecedented policy.

(From the New York Herald Tribune of 12 May)

* * *

Both the articles reprinted above of the well-known commentator Walter Lippmann, show that American public opinion has not only not been calmed by the official statements from Washington on the piratical flight over Soviet territory, but, on the contrary, is disturbed by the recklessness of the military circles and Government officials. In the first of these articles Lippmann emphasizes the "deep penetration of a military reconnaissance aircraft into Soviet territory." He raises directly the question of the Governments' responsibility for spy flights and denies as absurd attempts to explain this as the result of some kind of lack of coordination among the "authorities".

Lippmann expresses himself even more directly in the second of the above articles. He calls the conduct of the American Government an attempt "to make the best of a piece of very bad luck." And the commentator describes the proclaimed intention of Washington to continue espionage activities against the Soviet Union as a policy which "is quite unworkable" as an open challenge to the Soviet Union before the whole world.

It is at once evident, however, that Lippmann does not at all condemn the espionage activities as such on the part of the U.S.A. against the Soviet Union. He says this, in effect, to readers of the New York Herald Tribune: no objection should be made to espionage but only to unsuccessful espionage, not against provocations but only against provocations which miscarry. The American commentator also provides in his articles some elementary principles of espionage which would evidently help Washington more quickly to escape from an "amateurish and naive view of the nature of spying." Thus, even here we see an unwillingness to abandon a bankrupt policy; Lippmann's sermon refers only to bankrupt methods which, in his opinion, should be improved. This is poor advice, to say the least.

The discussion of the American commentator is somewhat more sensible only when he turns to a description of the scandalous trap in which Washington was caught through its "blatant and gratuitous lie," and its later attempt to extricate itself by the "declaration of a new and unprecedented policy."

THE TRAGEDY OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

James Reston

[Reston article is in New York Times for 8 May 1960 fastened to following page. As quoted here it appears the same as the original except for the omission of a paragraph in the original Reston article which referred to Moscow's vacillations on the visit of the head of the Soviet Air Force to the U. S.]

Every time an uninvited American plane crosses the Soviet frontier, Nikita Khrushchev's shirttail flies up his back like a window blind.

The surprising thing is not that this happens but that the United States should have been monkeying around with the string at this particular moment.

Timing in politics, as in love, is important. The summit meeting with Khrushchev is only nine days off. This was an odd moment to play peekaboo around the frontiers of Russia.

The case for sampling the upper air near the U.S.S.R. is strong enough. This is one way to check whether nuclear tests are going on at a time when the United States has voluntarily stopped testing.

What even our best friends are asking here is: Why now? And why there? And even if it is assumed that the Administration's explanation is geometrically accurate, the judgment of the United States Government is bound to be questioned.

The reason for this is that the element of accident in this kind of world is frightening. Few people believe in a calculated nuclear war. What worries our allies and many of our own officials is the accidental incident touched off by some human failing of mind or character of judgment.

Accordingly, it is assumed that the most careful discipline will be exercised, and when, instead, we are told that United States planes are in the air along the Soviet frontier to test things that can be tested elsewhere-when official spokesmen say publicly that the United States never has voluntarily sent a plane over Soviet territory-then, not only the good judgment but the good faith of the Government gets involved in controversy.

The political fall-out from this incident is bound to be great. Khrushchev, never a trusting soul, has recently been accusing the United States of trying to ruin the chances of agreement at the summit meeting before it started.

For example, Yuri Zhukov, head of the State Committee of the U.S.S.R., came here the other day to complain that the Voice of America had assumed a new and more ominous tone. This started, Mr. Zhukov told George Allen, head of the United States Information Agency, around March 15, Mr. Allen asked for evidence.

Mr. Zhukov pointed to one reference in a Voice of America broadcast to "slave labor camps" in the U.S.S.R. He pointed to another broadcast to the effect that there was a serious shortage of consumer goods in the Soviet Union.

Coincidentally Soviet Ambassador Mikhail Menshikov has been complaining about the speech made by Secretary of State Christian A. Herter in Chicago on April 4, and protesting even more about the much tougher and even scornful speech made by Under Secretary C. Douglas Dillon in New York on April 20.

Who's in Charge?

Khrushchev himself has been complaining publicly about these two speeches and asserting that they indicated a calculated decision by Washington to "revive the cold war."

As a matter of fact, there was no such policy decision taken by this Government. The tone of the Voice of America was not purposely changed. It was decided in late March to make clear to both the Russians and the West Germans that United States policy on Berlin and Germany remained the same. It is also true that the tone of Mr. Dillon's speech was sharper than anything delivered by so high an official in a long time, but this was not the result of any calculated decision to stir up the animals.

Moscow, however, was in a mood to believe precisely this when the plane incident occurred, so it is no surprise that Mr. Khrushchev took off like the Terrible Tempered Mr. Bang.

In fact he was so furious that on Monday, the day after the plane incident, Moscow cabled the State Department that Khrushchev had canceled the visit to the United States of the head of the Soviet Air Force, Marshal Konstantin Andreevich Vershinin. Then, quite as suddenly, on Wednesday another cable arrived from Moscow restoring the visit.

This has encouraged officials here to hope that perhaps Khrushchev will exploit his propaganda advantage and let his shirttail settle down. At least they hope so, for the President is not trying to ruin or manage the summit meeting. He is not even managing his own departments preliminary to the summit, and this, of course, is precisely the trouble.

New York Times, 8 May 1960

The tragedy of President Eisenhower in the spy-plane case is that he and his colleagues have created almost all the things he feared the most.

He wanted to reduce international tension and he has increased it. He wanted to strengthen the alliance and he has weakened it. He glorified teamwork and morality, and got lies and administrative chaos.

Everything he was noted for--caution, patience, leadership, military skill, and even good luck--suddenly eluded him precisely at the moment he needed them most.

And the paradox of it all is that, despite the wonder of the world, there is an element of reason and even of inevitability in the whole melancholy story.

This is the main point at a time when the nation is picking a President for the Sixties. For the heart of the problem here is that the Presidency has been parceled out, first to Sherman Adams, then to John Foster Dulles, and in this case to somebody else--presumably to Allen Dulles, but we still don't know.

Institutionalized Presidency

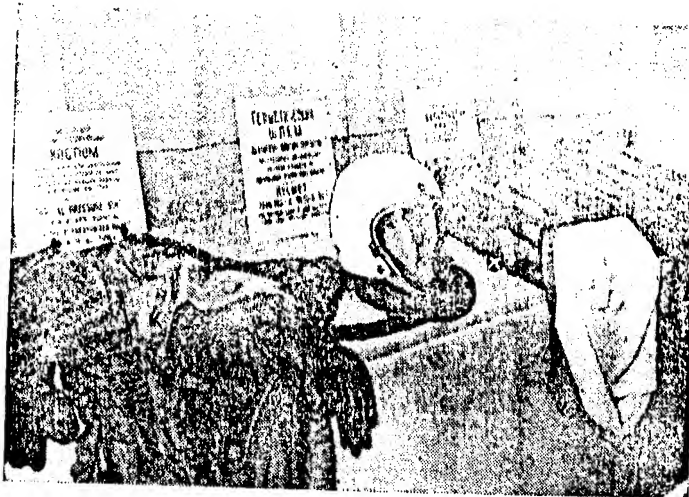
From the "personalized Presidency" of Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson and the two Roosevelts we have passed to the "institutionalized Presidency" under Eisenhower. It has some good points, but it disperses authority, removes the President from many key decisions and leaves the nation, the world and sometimes even the President himself in a state of uncertainty about who is doing what.

Long before the spy-plane case some of the nation's most distinguished historians noted this trend.

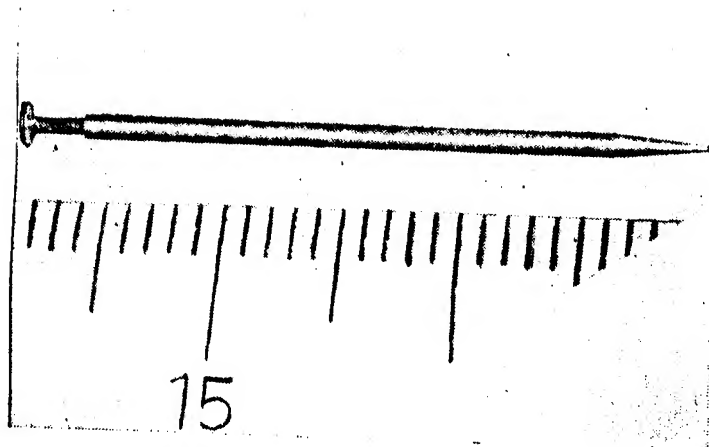
"To a far greater degree than any of his predecessors," wrote Edward S. Corwin of Princeton in "The President--Office and Powers," "President Eisenhower has employed the Cabinet as an instrument of collective policy-making.*** Each member is expected to assume full responsibility for the conduct of the affairs of his department.***"

"Each of these gentlemen, according to the President, is an independent officeholder with his own views of appropriate policy, with which the President has no warrant to interfere."

It may be going far to say that the President felt no "warrant" to interfere with the established policy of aerial intrusion over the Soviet Union, but there no doubt exists [see following page for photographs] here



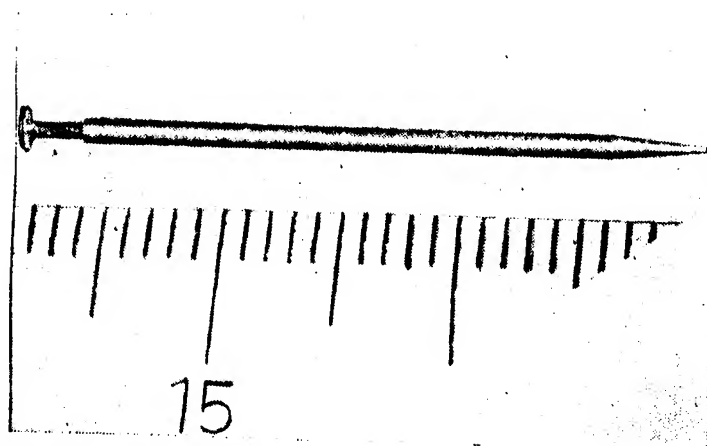
High-altitude compression flying suit, hermitically-sealed helmet, parachute oxygen equipment, and emergency parachute of the American pilot.



Special needle with poison which brings instant death.



High-altitude compression flying suit, hermitically-sealed helmet, parachute oxygen equipment, and emergency parachute of the American pilot.



Special needle with poison which brings instant death.

what Professor Corwin calls an air of Presidential "detachment," an attitude of "reigning rather than ruling" and relying on the staff to carry on established policies even when new conditions, such as an impending summit meeting, intervened.

The Central Point

Prof. Walt W. Rostow of Massachusetts Institute of Technology spells out the problem in "The United States in the World Arena."

"For whatever reasons--diffidence, uncertainty, or inner convictions--" he wrote, "President Eisenhower did not impose his own insights, his own sense of direction on the nation's policy."

"He remained loyal not to his views of substance but to his principles of administration. He decided, in effect, only when his immediate subordinates could not. * * * He maintained the kind of relationship [with the Cabinet] he had built up during the war with Alexander, Montgomery and Bradley--a relationship in which, within the agreed strategy, the field operator was given maximum scope. * * *"

Here, perhaps more than anywhere else, lies the explanation of the spy-plane confusion. The field operator was given "maximum scope." There was an "agreed strategy" in Washington, but the specific operation was not authorized by the President, or even on the President's mind until the crash.

The president, in short, was loyal to his subordinates and to his principles of administration, but the tragedy is that he "did not impose his own insights, his own sense of direction in the nation's policy."

By nature no man could be less inclined than Eisenhower to risk a provocative adventure into the Soviet Union just before perhaps the last Big Four summit meeting of his career, or to say when it was done that it had not been done, or to insist in the end that he would do it again.

This is why it is a tragedy. For in an instant of savage misfortune he was caught in a system of his own choosing, and the question now is whether this concept of the Presidency is adequate for the Sixties.

New York Times, 11 May 1960, p. 38

The first Reston article was published in the New York Times immediately after the world had learned of the provocative flight of an American aerial pirate over Soviet territory. This article shows clearly that the official explanations of the ruling circles of the U.S.A. were considered by every sensible person to be a clumsy attempt to escape the pressure of the facts. Already in this article the anxiety is evident: if it is true that the President of the U.S.A. did not know of the flight of the American spy this can only increase public alarm Reston, although with reservations, condemns the methods of the "cold war", emphasizing that their use is especially unwise on the eve of the summit meeting of the heads of government.

The second Reston article reflects well-founded concern at the loss of prestige of the ruling circles of the U.S.A., especially the President. Reston calls this a "tragedy" for American interests.

FROM THE POSITION OF A MONGREL
Joseph Alsop

In the bad news that an American was downed in the Soviet Union is contained a remarkable piece of news. To begin with, the intelligence estimate of the American Government of the military position of the Soviet Union has now acquired a completely different character. For many years after the war this estimate was always mistakenly optimistic. The current estimate of such very important questions as, for example, the number of intercontinental missiles at the disposal of the Soviet Union, is strongly optimistic. Those who, like your correspondent, remember past mistakes, suspect that there are mistakes even now.

However, the fate of the "U-2" plane, which was shot down in the vicinity of Sverdlovsk, has disclosed a great secret, which has introduced a corrective. More than four years ago the Central Intelligence Agency set up a program of systematic flights over huge areas of the Soviet Union. Thus, the Central Intelligence Administration, with a bold realism which must be applauded by every sensible American, began to gather immeasurably better data for the national estimate. In this way the main cause of past mistakes was eliminated.

This does not mean, of course, that there are still no mistakes at all in this estimate. Careful concealment may be successful despite all the potentialities of modern aerial photography. In the Soviet Arctic the cloud cover is so thick and continuous that aerial photography is, in effect, impossible, even with the aid of much less precise radar cameras. But, all the same, it can be said now with much more confidence that Nikita S. Khrushchev will not come to the summit meeting with a large but hidden advantage in long-range missiles or any other weapon.

A meeting on the highest level was always fraught with the nightmarish possibility that Khrushchev would have such a hidden advantage. If this had happened, then it would have turned out that President Eisenhower was playing with life and death with two deuces in his hand against the trumps which Khrushchev could suddenly put down. If all the brave men, who flew these flights before Lt. Francis G. Powers did not fall into a trap this nightmare should no longer disturb the sleep of the West.

But this is still not all the remarkable news. The fate of the "U-2" plane also shows perfectly clearly that the trump cards which the President still has--the jet bombers of the SAC--are still much better cards than they seemed to be on the basis of earlier facts.

The most important of these facts is that an enormous proportion of the Soviet military budget, which amounts to 20% of the total budget, has regularly been spent for air defence in all the years since the war. On the basis of this tremendous outlay by the Soviet Union for air defence, many experts suspected that airplanes of the type of the "B-52" of the SAC have lost the capability to perform their missions.

But it is clear now that the Soviets cannot be certain of their aerial defence against the bombers of the Strategic Air Command. It must be remembered that an airplane of the "U-2" type was first built by the Lockheed Company in 1955. This airplane which is essentially a very large glider, equipped with a single jet engine, was used for four years for flights over huge areas of the Soviet Union. These flights of "U-2" planes in the upper atmosphere were surely detected on Soviet radar screens. But until Lt. Powers unsuccessful flight not a single airplane of the "U-2" type was shot down.

Regular flights, carried out with impunity for several years, mean that at high altitudes the Soviet air defence system is actually very weak. The simple fact, that the "U-2" plane of Lt. Powers flew as far as Sverdlovsk, in the very heart of the Soviet Union, also signifies that the air defence system of the Soviet Union still has very large gaps in it.

It is possible that at the present time this system is being improved with the help of high-altitude rockets of the type of the American "Nike" rocket; however this improvement still cannot have progressed very far....

In any case, the fate of the "U-2" plane shows to all the world that the balance of fear continues to be maintained. The present Administration has strangely ignored this. The equality will begin to change with the increase in missile capability of the Soviet Union. But now the equality is maintained. The character and timing of this evidence causes regret. But actually this evidence is profoundly reassuring.

As we see, Joseph Alsop does not trouble even to lightly powder his face. He stands before us in all his repellent form--a typical mongrel, who barks loudly but has no power to do anything. Lying is his main activity. If this mongrel loses zeal in this simple matter he will be driven away from the door by a blow of his master's foot.

Alsop does not wish to be driven away. All the more so because now and then the masters of the American press give him big bones. Therefore he tries to drool over everything, more precisely, to jump up on his owners when they are moving slowly. Hence the insolent assertions that the very fact of reconnaissance flights over Soviet territory is "remarkable news"; or crocodile tears over the fact that in the Russian Arctic the cloud cover hinders reconnaissance aerial photography; or the frankly cannibalistic calls for the use of strategic bombers against the Soviet Union.

Alsop writes that "the Soviets cannot be fully confident of their air defence." A typical attempt to make the wish into a reality! The frontiers of the Soviet Union have been, are, and will be under strong lock, they are impregnable to the aggressor. Every uninvited guest can expect the fate of the aerial pirate who was brought down on 1 May on the first shot. We have enough missiles to handle all the airplanes which may attempt to violate our frontiers. And not only airplanes! We have missiles for all lovers of adventures. Both the masters and their lackeys will receive them.

How low the moral position of bourgeois propagandists has fallen when such a representative of them as Alsop explains the provocations of Allen Dulles are "bold realism" which "should (!) be applauded by every sensible American". And this is written at a time when every sensible American is aroused at the recklessness of the provocators!

To bourgeois journalists of the Joseph Alsop type may be applied the words of the old Russian proverb: "When a dog barks, the wind carries it away".

A FATAL MOMENT Hanson Baldwin

One young American faced his "moment of truth" about 65,000 feet over the Soviet Union a week ago yesterday. He apparently decided that life was better than death and his instinctive reaction produced an international incident of unpredictable consequences. The capture of Francis G. Powers, pilot of a United States reconnaissance aircraft, gave Premier Khrushchev an important political and psychological advantage just prior to the East-West summit conference. It was an advantage the Soviet leader was quick to exploit.

The United States Government, many members of Congress and much of the press had been mouse-trapped into premature denials. Mr. Khrushchev was able to show--with the capture of the pilot--that these were, as he bluntly put it, "complete lies." The United States had been caught redhanded in a major espionage operation, with all the embarrassment that such a coup causes.

All these and other consequences stemmed from one man's instinct for survival in the few seconds when Francis Powers faced his crucial decision.

The negative aspect, from the United States point of view, of the young pilot's decision are obvious. They are so obvious that a demand for the scalps of the "guilty" officials already has started. Harold E. Stassen, former disarmament adviser to President Eisenhower, implied Saturday that "some of our military officers" had engineered Mr. Powers' flight to upset the prospects for the summit conference.

But the negative aspects of the Soviet counter-espionage coup must be balanced by the entire history of the Lockheed U-2 project. It is a history that effectively answers Mr. Stassen's accusation. The U-2's essential feature is its amazing high-altitude capability. The plane has extremely long wings and its very light wing loading enables high subsonic speed and maneuverability in very thin air. Mr. Khrushchev said Mr. Powers' craft was flying at 65,000 feet when shot down; presumably even that rarefied altitude is not its absolute ceiling.

Thus the U-2 must have had, when it first became operational about five years ago, a ceiling considerably higher than any of the far faster but heavier of the world's fighter-interceptors.

GREATER ALTITUDES REACHED

The latest United States interceptors produced since the U-2 was designed are able to reach 60,000 to 70,000 feet; in fact altitude records above 90,000 feet have been established by both United States and Soviet military aircraft. But these records were established by high speed "zoom-ups"--that is, sharp pull-ups with maximum power from straight and level flight. Maneuvering ability at these high altitudes is extremely limited and interception at such altitudes by a piloted fighter, especially if the interceptor must then take up a pursuit, is very difficult.

Thus the U-2's high-altitude capability gave it until a week ago a certain degree of invulnerability to anti-air defense.

It is noteworthy that it was an anti-aircraft rocket fired from the ground--not a piloted interceptor--that brought down the first U-2 lost to Soviet attack in five years of operations. The feat of rocketry, despite the Soviet boasting about it, is not remarkable. It has, in fact, been within the United States capability for a long time.

The United States Nike-Hercules anti-aircraft missile, which can carry either a nuclear or a conventional warhead, has shot down targets traveling at three times the speed of sound and has hit targets at altitudes ranging from 1,000 to 100,000 feet. Even the Nike-Ajax, which has been operational for seven years, has an altitude capability of at least 60,000 to 70,000 feet.

SOVIET LAG INDICATED

The shooting down of Mr. Powers' U-2 on May 1 indicates not a Soviet lead in defensive anti-aircraft missiles but, on the contrary, a Soviet lag. There have been rumors that the Russians were having trouble with their anti-aircraft missiles and there has been little hard evidence of the tremendous defensive strength so often credited to the Soviet Union.

Two deductions are possible from this successful firing of an anti-aircraft missile against the U-2.

The shot could have been "lucky"--that is, the pilot might have blundered within firing range of a missile battery that reconnaissance planes normally would try to avoid.

At the same time, the Soviet Union may at last have corrected some of the faults in its anti-aircraft missiles and may now have in operation weapons comparable in effectiveness to the United States' earlier Nike-Ajax, or perhaps approximating the Nike-Hercules.

Both deductions are probably correct.

A broader evaluation of the U-2's career gives reason to conclude that it probably has been one of the most successful reconnaissance planes ever built.

MANY FLIGHTS 'ALONG' BORDERS

Judging from the Government's own account, the U-2 has made numerous flights in the last five years "along" the Communist frontiers. It has operated from Alaska, Japan, Germany, the Middle East and elsewhere. Mr. Khrushchev declared in his first speech on the present incident that another United States aircraft, presumably also a U-2, has crossed Soviet frontiers on April 9 from the direction of Afghanistan, and that that one, thought detected, was not intercepted.

All this would seem to indicate that the U-2's flight plan on May 1, which according to Mr. Khrushchev was to take it straight across the Soviet Union, from south to north was not unusual. It seems likely, judging from the Soviet revelations and the United States Government's somewhat equivocal admissions, that similar flights had occurred in the past.

If this is so, the data gained in photographs and by other means must have been of immense importance. The U-2 project and other secret methods of intelligence collection presumably explain in part the Government's confidence about United States military strength relative to that of the Soviet Union.

Moreover, if repeated flights over the Soviet Union have actually occurred, the conclusion would seem to be that Soviet defenses have been weaker than the world realized. In fact, if photographs similar to those from the downed U-2 that Mr. Khrushchev proudly exhibited were taken in previous flights, the U-2 program must have been until eight days ago the most successful reconnaissance espionage project in history.

This chapter abruptly came to an end May 1 when Mr. Powers made his decision to live.

DATE OF THE FLIGHT SIGNIFICANT

Numerous questions remain:

Why was such a flight made just before the summit conference: It may be noted that the incident occurred on May Day, a day dedicated in the Soviet Union to glorification of the Communist regime, and at a time when the Russians were widely expected to attempt a spectacular pre-summit space or missile shot.

Was the flight authorized by Washington?

Saturday's somewhat equivocal United States statement, probably deliberately cloudy on this point, declared that "in so far as the authorities are concerned, there was no authorization for any such flights as described by Mr. Khrushchev."

But it would be stretching a very long bow to infer from this, as Mr. Stassen did, that some United States military commander had gone off "half-cocked" on his own initiative. The whole history of the U-2 project, as revealed piecemeal in Washington and through Mr. Khrushchev's revelations, shows clearly that the activities were managed and probably closely directed by Washington.

What was the directing authority?

It has been acknowledged that the initial version of the incident issued in Washington--that the U-2 was a weather plane operated by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration--was false. It is easy to deduce from this, from Mr. Khrushchev's assertions, which there seems no reason to doubt, and from the United States' own somewhat lame explanations, that the U-2 project was a Central Intelligence Agency effort, and a very successful one.

SPACE AGENCY SEEN AS 'COVER'

The N. A. S. A. and the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation were probably so-called cover agencies. The pilots, judging from Mr. Powers' background, were apparently former Air Force or Air Force Reserve pilots on inactive duty, attracted to their hazardous occupation by adventure and very high pay.

Do the Russians do this sort of thing?

Of course, and perhaps much more. Soviet planes do not have the advantage of bases close to the continental United States. But Soviet aircraft have flown over parts of Alaska, Northern Canada, Japan and other Western defense areas. The Communist espionage system is one of the world's most efficient, whereas that of the United States has always been handicapped by the Iron Curtain.

Why did the pilot survive?

This is a question that only Mr. Powers can answer, and he may spend the rest of his life trying to answer it satisfactorily.

The instinct of self-preservation is strong in every human and it is contrary to the Judean-Christian and the American ethic to destroy one's own life.

Yet an unwritten law of every secret intelligence organization postulates the suicide of an agent rather than capture, possible torture and revelations of importance to an enemy.

Mr. Khrushchev has quoted from an alleged confession by Mr. Powers and has declared that a hypodermic needle or pin and a pistol were recovered. These, he said, were for use by the pilot to prevent his capture alive.

The photograph of the wreckage of the U-2 released by Moscow and the fact that Mr. Powers lived to fall into Soviet hands indicates something of how the flier must have reacted in time of crisis.

The plane apparently was hit by a fragment of the rocket's explosive warhead and was disabled. Apparently Mr. Powers rode it down for some distance and then parachuted. The U-2 almost certainly had a self-destructive charge, which apparently was not set off.

FILMS AID KHRUSHCHEV

Mr. Powers' alleged confession, the plane's wreckage and even films from its camera thus have aided Mr. Khrushchev's dramatic psychological coup. It is safe to guess that all that Mr. Powers knew about the U-2 operations is now known to the Russians.

Thus the Central Intelligence Agency, an agency of a nation that is formally dedicated to the protection of human life, undoubtedly would have wanted Mr. Powers to destroy his plans and himself--a concept wholly antithetical to the average American.

Mr. Powers' dilemma in the few seconds of free choice he may have had is indeed the dilemma, not only of a secret intelligence agency in a democratic government, but of a democratic nation facing a secret Communist conspiracy in the atomic age.

It is part of the world we live in. Values often become mixed and truth often becomes falsehood. But the greatest value, and the reason for the U-2 program itself, is survival--not the survival of Francis Powers but national survival. The danger of surprise attack in the age of hydrogen bombs is so great that responsible government feels it must have all possible information.

Mr. Powers and his agonizing decision and the secrecy with which the whole U-2 project was necessarily surrounded, were inescapable results of this overriding need to know.

Hanson Baldwin is considered the most famous military commentator in the United States. His comments on the unsuccessful diversion of American militarists are, therefore, of special interest. It is at once apparent that he is not attempting to hide the base fact: the U.S.A. has been for a long time carrying out provocations against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, has built for this purpose a special reconnaissance airplane which flies at great heights, and has been using for this purpose bases in countries neighboring the Soviet Union.

The commentator advises the American militarists to use the methods of a Hitler--first to send a spy on this dirty business and when the spy is caught, to write him off as a loss. Such are the cannibalistic morals of those who have raised espionage to the level of State policy.

By his remarks on Powers' cowardice Baldwin wishes to conceal the real reason for the failure of the aerial provocation against the Soviet Union. This is first of all the fact that the Soviet Union possesses a proper defence which bars the entry of uninvited guests. This disturbs the American commentator most of all. There he calls on his readers not to believe in the military superiority of the Soviet Union.

Useless attempts! The whole world has been amazed by the accomplishments of Soviet missile technology. The whole world knows that Soviet missiles can go as far as distant areas of the Pacific Ocean just as well as to the moon. The new brilliant triumph of Soviet science and technology--the sending of a space ship into orbit around the earth--shows once again the invincible might of the USSR.

And now when the aggressive circles of the U.S.A. have been unmasked before all of mankind as provocators, when they have been pushed against the wall by irrefutable evidence--now the pygmy Baldwin thinks up lying stories about the USSR, slanders our country and the Soviet armed forces. Our air, sea, and land frontiers are properly defended-- he who comes to us with a sword will perish by the sword. So it has been and so it will be to any aggressor!

The propagandists of the U.S.A. do not themselves believe the fables which they write. These fables are useful to the Baldwins only to draw the public's attention away from the aggressive actions of the U.S.A.

For this purpose they have concocted a story that Soviet airplanes are flying on reconnaissance missions over North America. A fabrication which has been refuted by President Eisenhower and ridiculed by the Western press itself. Not without reason did the Associated Press correspondent report from Washington on 9 May: "We do not know of any cases of intrusions into the air space of North America".

Or take Baldwin's boasting about foreign military bases which the U.S.A. has and of which the Soviet Union has none. A military commentator must know that Soviet missile are capable of striking any enemy, that the Soviet Union has no need of bases on foreign territory. As for the American bases outside the U.S.A., they will be wiped off the face of the earth in the first minutes of retribution.

"Values often become mixed," complains Baldwin, "and truth becomes falsehood." The very article of the American military commentator is an excellent example of that. He is really trying to convert the truth into a lie. As regards the "moral values" of the American militarists, which he glorifies, it can be said of them that they are not mixed; they simply have none.

Arguments of this kind will not make even simpletons believe that espionage against the Soviet Union can be carried out with impunity. Still less to be relied upon is the thought with which Baldwin fills the public mind that the American militarists can balance with impunity on the "brink of war". The events of the first half of May, 1960, show sufficiently clearly that punishment inevitably awaits the provocators. Not a single aggressor who attempts to penetrate the frontiers of the Soviet land can escape it.

A HUMILIATING DEFEAT
New York Post

The United States has suffered one more serious defeat in the international political war. This defeat, so humiliating and so unnecessary, was also clearly the result of extreme negligence, confusion, and inertia on the highest levels (in combination with stupidity at a lower level), that we should not permit it to be buried in the sacred and impenetrable archives of State security.

The most ominous aspect of this whole story is that it serves as a reminder that Government officials can lose control over history and that our fate may come to depend on the caprice of this or that military bureaucrat or long fanatic, living in a world of his own. It is clear that this condition is comparable on both sides of the great divide, but at the present time it is most useful to Mister Khrushchev because our man has been caught.

Washington's admission that this plane was engaged in aerial espionage is serious enough in itself. To say that espionage is a great international game which the communists were playing when we were still children--this is not the answer. This game acquires a different and much more dangerous

character when it is conducted in the air over the territory of a suspicious, frightened rival power than when it is conducted by cloak-and-dagger specialists in the solons amid the entangling intrigue of foreign capitals.

The grave American admission is aggravated by a whole series of circumstances. This ill-fated flight took place less than two weeks before the historic meeting at the highest level. This much resembles a well-calculated attempt to wreck this conference.

The hint that some subordinate officer could order such a dangerous mission without the knowledge and authorization of the President is probably the most frightening aspect of the event. It has happened and not done us great harm but this flight could have had much more catastrophic consequences if some Bolshevik in the heat of anger had seen in our espionage plane a carrier of atomic bombs. Who would have been left alive to explain the misunderstanding?

...As matters now stand, both our friends and our enemies picture us as a country which permits probably not-very-high-ranking officers to play with matters of life and death, at the same time that the President is playing golf.

This incident should provide food for thought for those military scribblers who were ready to declare war when the first version of the plane incident was published and who were ready to give their all for our meteorologist.

(Article published on 9 May)

"WE HAVE BEEN CAUGHT RED-HANDED"
Doris Fleeson

The doors and windows were closed in order that the waiting correspondents could not hear how Congressional critics were throwing themselves on Secretary of State Herter and Allen Dulles, the head of the Central Intelligence Agency. But everybody knew that the real guilty party--the President of the United States, under whose leadership our country had demonstratively lied, was not there.

Now when this new American tragedy is unfolding, in our gloomy capital one main question is being asked: is there any moral necessity to rally around the President in this matter? Can a question of truth or falsehood be bipartisan?

They are not shocked in Washington by the fact of espionage itself; there they are disturbed because the incident of the spy plane shot down over the Soviet Union was so ill-timed and the whole operation was so

clumsy. Everything about the story is humiliating: both the lack of information on the President's part, swollen to a pious virtue, and the cock-and-bull stories about unfavorable meteorological conditions and failure of oxygen supply with which they stuffed the public.

...The catastrophe began after the decision of Secretary of State Herter to tell the truth and not because it was the truth but because we had been caught red-handed. But the Government attempted to give a reasoned explanation for this fact also.

Officials declare that it makes no sense to consider the moral damage, because in the reverse situation the tension which would have been result of the incident could have wrecked the summit meeting. They say also that this will enable the President to raise the issue of secrecy at the summit meeting on the ground that it requires the free world to spy on the others.

The fact that our country seriously planned to take a morally sententious position next week in Paris is no more absurd than the actual events of last week.

But there is something still less acceptable in the cold statements which emanate, evidently, from the Pentagon. This is the assumption that Francis G. Powers, the pilot of the downed plane, was completely guilty in that he did not take his life when he was caught. They say that among the items of Powers' equipment mentioned by Prime Minister Khrushchev, was also a needle with poison.

It is possible that the instructions given to Powers specifically directed him to use it; if this is the case, it has not been stated. It is a severe sentence when they say that, because there happened to be in the hands of one young man a poison needle, the moral prestige of the whole country has been damaged. If the country's leaders actually thought this, then it is perfectly proper to ask them why they did not speak of this secretly for internal consumption instead of proclaiming it before the whole world.

The policy of finding scapegoats is not new in our country. Attempts to use it in this way on the international scene are, fortunately, rare occurrences and the American people along with their political leaders should ask whether the leaders of the free world can build on this basis a foreign policy which will ensure the safety of the country.

Those who ponder over these difficult and basic questions can derive little satisfaction from recent events. But nevertheless, the American people may be ahead of their elected representatives, as has frequently been the case.

(From the New York Post of 10 May)

PROVOCATIONS AND ELECTIONS

Harry Franz, Correspondent of the United Press-International Agency
(U.S.A.)

Political observers predicted today that the present tension in American-Soviet relations will lead the public to re-assess the individual qualifications to solve world problems of all Presidential candidates.

Observers say that recent events will put an end to the atmosphere of complacency which has reigned until now in the gradually warming-up national pre-election campaign. But they consider that it is not so much the episode of the "U-2" spy plane as the results of the forthcoming summit meetings which will determine, in the final analysis, the public mood.

Before the Soviet Union shot down the American airplane, the Republican Party seemed to have every possibility of making capital out of the "Peace and Prosperity" slogan with all the resulting advantages for Vice President Richard Nixon as the probable Presidential candidate of this party.

Moreover, the Democratic Party still had to solve the problem of unity arising in connection with the present of several candidates for the office of President and with the threat of discord on such questions as racial segregation and Catholicism versus Protestantism.

Now people seem convinced that the "cold war" may possibly become the main problem of the next President. Ability, experience, and administrative skills, and not the popularity of the candidates--these may consequently become the main considerations for the voters.

Many observers consider that one of the political effects of the "U-2" incident will be an increase in the chances of the twice-defeated Adlai Stevenson to become a compromise candidate at the convention of the Democratic Party which will be held in July in San Francisco. If this does not happen, then Stevenson will remain in the center of attention as a probable Secretary of State, if the Democrats win the November elections.

If the summit meeting results in a reduction in the tensions in relations between East and West, then the Presidential race will possibly develop along traditional lines. The Democrats, as the opposition party, will attempt to discredit the activities of the Eisenhower Government since 1953 and will maintain that under the Democrats the Government would have done much more. A decisive influence may be exerted by the agricultural problem and the problem of relations between workers and management.

On the other hand, if the summit meeting does not give birth to new hopes for a lasting peace than the drafters of the platforms at both the Democratic and Republican conventions will be confronted by a single serious problem. They will have to consider the possibility of public demand for the creation by the next President of a bipartisan cabinet and about the need for a system of economy in order to cover increased defence expenditures.

Moreover, Presidential candidates from both parties must also give attention to the fact that among the publics of several Western countries differences of opinion may arise resulting from the incident with the "U-2" plane, as to the correctness of American leadership on critical issues.

Some relaxation in the crisis in relations between East and West at the summit meeting would be, in the opinion of international experts, in the interests of the underdeveloped countries of the world, because the strong Western industrial powers would consider it necessary to increase their aid to economic development in Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

(United Press-International Agency
report from Washington on 12 May)

RED FACES
"Washington Evening Star"

After strongly expressed indignation over the fact that our airplane was shot down over Russian territory, our Government hesitatingly admits that there is a measure of truth in the statements of the Russian Premier concerning the purpose of the flight of this airplane. It is impossible not to think of the redfaced embarrassment of a small boy when he is caught going after a forbidden jar of cookies.

Our Government has resorted to the big lie in connection with this incident. We wished to force the whole world to believe that the airplane was on a completely innocent mission and that it had accidentally flown over Russian territory. This position very soon became impossible.

Moreover, the American Government attempted to deceive the citizens to whom, they think, it should be responsible. This is the first time, in my recollection, that this has happened.

It is very grievous to see how such a fatal course undermines the bases of democracy. Who assigned this airplane its mission? The time has come for us to assert the basic principle of democracy--responsibility to the voters. If we permit the Government to exercise its will over us, without responsibility to anyone besides itself, we will gradually become a totalitarian State. This incident was a beginning. How far will matters go?

(From a letter of reader Pierre Dostert, published on 12 May)

"WE RISK STARTING A FIRE...
"Wall Street Journal"

We do not know what the U.S.A. would do if an airplane without identifying markers should penetrate our frontiers, would not respond to our signals and would refuse to land. But we think that we know what would be done in those cases.

Consequently, while we all understand the necessity for intelligence operations for the purpose of discovering what is happening in Russia, it seems to us that somebody is playing with fire.... When we begin to spread sparks around in the tinder then we are in grave danger of starting a fire.

POLITICAL EARTHQUAKE
"Newsweek"

The reports on the American reconnaissance plane struck the United States like a series of successive earthquake shocks, at such intervals that there was not the slightest possibility of picking oneself up again between the shocks each of which was heavier than the one preceding.

PAGES FROM THE CONTEMPORARY PRESS

News of the marauding activities of America's militarists burst like a cold wind into the international atmosphere. For the peoples of all countries there is nothing dearer than peace. Millions of people throughout the whole world hunger for peace and struggle for peace. Bright hopes for an improvement in the international climate and for the elimination of war from society have implanted themselves in their hearts. The dangerous actions of the aggressive circles of the USA overshadow these hopes. That is why people of good will viewed this threat to peace flung out by the adherents of the "cold war" with deep alarm and with great anxiety.

Statements appearing in the press of a number of countries are gathered together in this chapter. These statements are but a small particle of the angry response of society to the provocative action of the American imperialists.

The peoples of the socialist countries have given decisive and firm warning to practitioners of international shady enterprises that any aggressor will smash his head against the granite walls of the powerful socialist camp.

Peace loving peoples of all countries, without regard to their political views and convictions, are unanimous in their opinion that the interests of assuring a world-wide peace demand that this dangerous business of playing with fire be permanently halted.

The few raucous voices of the enemies of peace are drowned in the unanimous chant of all peoples: once and for all to put an end to this subversion of peace!

THE FACE OF THE IMPERIALISTS

Jen-min Jih-pao
Chinese People's Republic

The invasion by an American plane of the air spaces of the Soviet Union not only exposes once again the aggressive character of American imperialism, but at the same time unmasks once again its shameless bandit's face.

With regard to the first declaration by the State Department of the USA on 5 May in which an attempt was made to assert that the airplane "accidentally flew over Soviet territory" as a result of the pilot's losing consciousness because of a malfunction of his oxygen equipment, the newspaper writes that the bandits from Washington figured that with the plane and the pilot gone they would be able to wriggle out of it. The information that the thief had been caught red-handed caused no end of confusion to the American authorities. The second declaration by the bureaucrats

in the State Department of the USA on 7 May in which they were forced after some bitter second thoughts to admit that the American airplane was engaged in the collection of espionage military information over the territory of the Soviet Union and at the same time tried to find new arguments for justifying their acts does nothing more, writes the newspaper, than to bring more shame to the authors of this declaration.

Attempts by the State Department of the USA to represent such espionage activity as a "means of legitimate national defense" "because of the extreme secrecy" of the Soviet Union, notes the newspaper, completely unmasks the fiction that "no authorization was given for the flight".

It is worthy of note that the USA does not think it shameful to engage openly in espionage activity under the pretense of "national defense" against other states and to invade their air spaces. This, writes the newspaper, once again reveals the truth that in the terminology of American imperialist any aggressive expansionist activity is called "defense" and that their "defense" is nothing more than aggression. If even the sending of aircraft into the air spaces of another country is called "a means of legitimate national defense," what other American "defense" is not to be known as aggression? In this connection, in the American version, it turns out since the Soviet Union guards its secrets so well, the USA is all the more obliged to send aircraft in to the USSR for conducting espionage and that these aggressive acts are entirely "legal". This is the same thing, writes Jen-min Jih-pao, as the thief's saying, "Since you have money, I must steal some."

What is this but the logic of bandits? Two declarations by the State Department of the USA, emphasizes Jen-min Jih-pao further, completely unmasks the seamy face of the American imperialists. It ought to be noted that this is not the first time that the USA has stooped to such low methods, but that this sort of thing goes on regularly.

The impudence with which the USA acted in this instance in connection with the violation by an American plane of the air spaces of the Soviet Union, writes Zhen'min' zhibao" in conclusion, is exposed in all its nakedness. If there were persons who did not clearly see the shameful face of the American imperialists, now even they can see that all attempts of the USA to justify its actions are wholly without basis and were undertaken only to conceal its aggressive actions.

A SOBERING BLOW

Trybuna Ludu
Polish People's Republic

It appears that for the first time in the history of international relations we are dealing with an attempt to provide clear legalization for spying and for a system of invasion of any foreign territory in times of peace. This is an attempt to make a common thing of raids across state borders and deep into the territory of another country with which normal relations are meanwhile being maintained.

American policy makers love to assume, at times, the role of defenders of international law. But one of the most important and moreover one of the most ancient foundations of this law is the inviolability of another's territory. We have never yet heard that the government of any country can appropriate to itself the unilateral privilege of "legally" violating another's borders.

The alertness of Soviet soldiers on the one hand and the skill with which this matter was handled by the chief of the Soviet government on the other pinned down the maneuvers of the American partisans of the "cold war" who are working against a relaxation of international tensions.

The stunning blow dealt by the leader of the Soviet government to "cold war" propaganda will doubtlessly help the people in the West to understand much better just where the forces are which are fighting for a relaxation of international tensions.

In contrast to the "cold war" tendencies which are thriving in the West, writes the newspaper in conclusion, the USSR has demonstrated its unvarying adherence to the idea of peaceful coexistence and the relaxation of tensions - a fact which was shown once again by the last session of the Supreme Soviet. In exposing and pillorying the espionage machinations of the enemies who are against relaxing tensions, the chief of the Soviet government cleared the atmosphere to a considerable extent, of "cold war" miasma on the eve of the summit meeting.

PROVOCATION BECAME A BOOMERANG

Neues Deutschland
German Democratic Republic

The aggressive violation by an American plane of the air spaces of the USSR immediately before the summit meetings are directed against these meetings which were called to strengthen peace. Honorable people of all countries are disturbed and aroused by this new attempt to aggravate the "cold war".

Berliner Zeitung
German Democratic Republic

The vile enemies of peace are still pursuing a policy of provocation. However, these provocative acts frequently turn into a boomerang. That is what happened with the American reconnaissance plane which was shot down at an altitude of 20 thousand meters and, like a boomerang, dealt a blow to all those on the side of the "cold war".

EVIL-DOERS EXPOSED

Rude Pravo
Republic of Czechoslovakia

The newspaper in expressing its alarm over the bandit-like activities of American aggressive circles and in welcoming the decisive position of the Soviet Union with regard to the intrigues of the enemies of peace, emphasizes that this evil business of playing with fire will come to no good. N. S. Khrushchev exposed the American piratical designs against the USSR. He produced incontrovertible proof of the espionage activity of the American plane.

THE SKY UNDER LOCK

Rabotnichesko Delo
Bulgarian People's Republic

The State Department justifies the espionage flight into the USSR by saying that the Soviet government refused to accept President Eisenhower's proposal regarding an "open sky", that is, refused to permit American planes to fly over Soviet territory freely and legally. It appears that the Soviet rocket not only hit the piratical plane of the spy, Powers, but the heads of certain responsible persons in Washington. For only a person who had lost his senses would demand that the USSR permit "unhindered photography of its military bases".

THE BANKRUPTS

Apararea Patriei
Rumanian People's Republic

The marauding violation by the American war plane of the air spaces of the Soviet Union once again exposes the fact that in the West and, particularly, in the USA, there are circles firmly bound to the bankrupt

policy of "from a position of strength". The danger which is concealed in the intrigues of these circles is clear from the fact that this new provocative act took place on the very eve of the Paris meeting of the chiefs of the four powers.

The end of this provocative act once more demonstrates that the intrigues of the partisans of the policy "from a position of strength" are doomed to failure. The consequences of these intrigues will invariably turn against their instigators like a boomerang. The organizers of these activities, so harmful to world peace, have been censured by international public opinion.

THE HEROIC DEED OF SOVIET WARRIORS

Nhan Dan

Democratic Republic of Vietnam

The recent violation by an American reconnaissance plane, a Lockheed U-2, of the air spaces of the Soviet Union bears witness to the fact that American imperialists do not really want to lessen international tensions. This fact bears witness to the war-like intentions of American imperialists. It also testifies to the fact that the United States and other western states are trying to obstruct the work of the forthcoming summit conferences.

In recent times the Soviet Union has tried to do everything possible to maintain peace and to ward off the danger of war. The Soviet Union has unilaterally halted atomic weapons testing, has reduced her armed forces and has put forth a number of thoughtful proposals for settling international differences. These efforts by the Soviet Union have, to a considerable extent, brought about a lessening of international tensions.

American imperialists are grossly mistaken if they think that the Soviet Union has dropped its guard. On the contrary, the fact the Soviet Union shot down the American plane demonstrates that the Soviet Union not only has not dropped her guard but has all the means required to protect the Soviet land and to deal a deadly blow to whoever dares to encroach on the Soviet Union or any other Socialist state.

The people of Vietnam warmly applaud the heroic deed of the Soviet warriors who shot down the American plane. If American imperialist will persist in following their militaristic and aggressive plans, they will inevitably share the fate of the Lockheed U-2 .



The route taken by the American reconnaissance plane over the territory of the Soviet Union on 1 May 1960.

THE USSR - THE BULWARK OF PEACE

Nodong Sinmun
Korean People's Democratic Republic

American ruling circles tried to deceive the world by asserting that the U-2 plane was flying along Soviet borders for weather observations and for investigations of the cosmos. Now a new declaration has been made public by the State Department in which an attempt is made to represent the flights over the territory of other countries as a natural thing. But no matter how the ruling circles of the USA try to get out of responsibility for this, their last declaration is tantamount to the admission "We are bandits".

The case of the American plane once more makes it obvious that the Soviet Union is a sturdy bulwark of peace which will not permit any aggression against her. The provocative actions of the ruling circles in the USA against the Soviet Union were directed toward disrupting the summit conferences.

A MISTAKE IN CALCULATIONS!

Nepszabadsag
Hungarian People's Republic

The aggressive act performed by the American espionage plane over the territory of the Soviet Union has provoked a violent storm in international political circles and no less violent disturbance in world opinion. American aggressive circles have attempted to use for their own shameful ends the international workers' holiday, the First of May, evidently in the hope that the watchfulness of the Soviet people would be lessened as a result of the celebrations. However, they were mistaken in their calculations. The watchfulness was not lessened, and the necessary rockets were ready and will be ready in the future to destroy any enemy.

A WARNING FOR AGGRESSORS

Bashkimi
Albanian People's Republic

The marauding act of American imperialists is a clear attempt to worsen the "cold war". Such a policy is fraught with great danger for the cause of peace and the fate of all peoples. The fate which befell the American plane violating the air spaces of the Soviet Union is a solemn warning to any aggressor.

The Albanian people are deeply disturbed by the aggressive act of the American air forces.

WE ARE BEING DECEIVED BY CHILDISH TRICKS

Michael Foot(e), Laborite
England

All this spy business, writes Foot(e), can lead to nuclear catastrophe. It was just a few months ago when the Secretary of State, Christian Herter, warned us of the danger of "war as a result of a miscalculation" in connection with a "spiralling competition for the creation of systems for the delivery of strategic weapons for which the warning time is becoming ever shorter and shorter."

But this week this same Herter, continues Foot(e), tells us in full support of President Eisenhower that the policy of espionage flights over the Soviet territory with all the attendant risk and danger of miscalculation is to continue. This is one of the most unusual declarations in the history of diplomacy and in the history of espionage. One should remember too that these flights are illegal and are frequently arranged at bases which are located in countries not ruled by the United States.

This week we were witnesses to an amazing spectacle when the President of the USA asserted that he intended to close his eyes, for the sake of espionage, to future scandalous violation of international law. From this it follows also that the countries allied with America will simply sit by with folded arms and accept orders from the American president (or, rather, from those persons in the Pentagon or in the American espionage organization, who, it appears, exercise more authority than the President).

Our nation, England is directly involved. The planes flying from English bases, almost beyond doubt, are engaged in this illegal business. But when the laborites - ordinary members of Parliament - demand information regarding these questions, they are told that "it is not in the interests of the state" to give them such information. Thus the English public - we can no longer call this the English democracy - is being deceived, by childish tricks, in a matter which may have significance for the future of our whole planet.

In London itself, an iron curtain has been dropped between the ministers and the people. Our security may depend on whether or not we can tear it away.

(From the English newspaper, DAILY HERALD, 13 May.)

In another English publication, the weekly TRIBUNE, Michael Foot(e) writes that the most striking fact brought out as a result of the American espionage plane is the extent to which military powers in the USA have been able to establish a state within a state. "Think how desperate would be our dangerous situation, even without this affair, if such chaos existed in the Soviet government as exists in the American government where minor officials, apparently, assume that they have a right to take measures which might break up a conference at the highest level or blow up the whole world. The NATO countries have permitted the American war machine to use their territory and have left it to them to decide questions regarding how they will use this territory. But just imagine what sort of a world crisis there would be if it had been the other way around; if a Soviet espionage plane flying from Cuba, for example, on its way to Guatemala had been shot down over American territory. The American public without a moment's hesitation would demand that measures be taken against the countries which had permitted their territory to be used for this purpose. By now, I'm sure, the marines would already have made a landing.

Foot(e) declared that peace can be safe-guarded for nuclear madness only if the political leaders can reestablish the primacy of foreign policy over wild military schemes. He also censured the decision by the Americans to renew underground nuclear tests and criticized Eisenhower for showing weakness and yielding to the demands of the militarists.

"If something can still be saved from the wreckage, it will be only because of the restraint and wisdom of Mr. Khrushchev. Once more we bring up the question, what would be the reaction of the Americans if the Russians should suddenly declare their intention to continue their tests?"

Foot(e) stated that sooner or later, the peoples of the countries which are members of NATO will come to understand that the union which is supposed to protect them is more dangerous than the threat for which it was formed. "Obviously, there is nothing suprising in this discovery. In recent years there has really been greater danger of destruction for the whole world from some mad action undertaken at the instigation of or incited by the Pentagon than from any designing policy of the Kremlin. To be completely and safely freed of danger requires that relations between East and West be improved and, to judge from all indications, the militarists in Washington are wholly against this. However, relations will improve and those alliances on which America is relying for promoting her nuclear strategy and the espionage associated with it, will surely fail".

BRING THE ATOMIC DEATH FANATICS TO THEIR KNEES

C. Zilliakus, Member of the English Parliament

The government of the USA, taken unawares, told an absurd lie in order to explain its position somehow. And now it is resorting to the classic justification of the young woman who referred to the fact that her illegitimate child was very young, in order to justify its renewal of nuclear tests in violation of the gentleman's agreement.

The fact that the President apparently knew nothing about sending the spy flight merely makes matters worse.

No amount of imagination can picture what would happen if a Soviet spy plane had flown from Kamchatka and had been shot down over Chicago on its way toward the Atlantic ocean.

In the final analysis, the American people, who desire peace, will bring their militarist generals and atom death fanatics to their knees. If in England there were to take place a decisive reaction to this whole business, it would be of great help to them.

The incident of the plane and the reports from the USA regarding the renewal of nuclear tests are a horrible witness to the might of the wicked forces active in the Pentagon and likewise the Atomic Energy Commission which is striving to break up the summit meeting and destroy all hope for a lessening of tensions.

(From an address in Manchester)

* * *

Member of the English Parliament, Laborite Connie Zilliakus writes in the newspaper, National Herald (USA), that the chances for reaching agreement on important matters at the summit are reduced, but "this time, the western governments will discover that they will have a hard time convincing the public in their own countries that they are not responsible for the failure".

It is clear, writes Zilliakus, that the position of the West with regard to Germany and disarmament has not changed for many years. However, this time, the foreign ministers conferred before the summit meetings and it will therefore be impossible to cover up or gloss over an inability to come to conclusions regarding the problems of German and Europe.

The three western governments who can not or do not wish to exert any real restraint on their blindly stubborn, ancient ally, Dr. Adenauer, assume that they can simply stand firm with regard to the unification of Germany and regarding the status quo in Berlin.

However, in this instance, a separate peace treaty may soon follow with East Germany. If this happens, I doubt if any candidate will be able to hang on to the post of president of the USA, and I am sure that any English government which threatens a world war instead of reconciling itself to a fait accompli, will be swept out. Meanwhile de Gaulle and the Algerian nationalists are making it almost impossible for England and the United States to continue a temporizing position in the future, and no matter which side they choose, there will be a clash of interests.

This meeting at the summit can not push disarmament into the background inasmuch as it must make some decision with regard to the blind alley into which the Ten Power Committee on disarmament has fallen and in connection with the endlessly drawn out work of the conference on nuclear testing. This time there will be no relying on a renewal of the "cold war" which will permit western ministers who get into trouble to wriggle out of their position.

And yet the present western plan for disarmament has the same deplorable likeness to the worthless counter proposals of the West made on the 29th of August, 1957. It falls short of the Anglo-French plan of 1954 in the most wretched fashion. This time, the limiting figure for the USA and the Soviet Union is actually higher than the existing level of their armed forces, and it contains no figures whatever for other countries. Moreover, the first stage of "disarmament," as it is humorously called, must be accompanied by carefully worked out regulations regarding the organization controlling the disarmament, and thus will run into an objection from the Soviet Union that the West is once more trying to set up control without disarmament.

In analyzing the impasse which arose in the Committee of Ten Powers, the London Times on 14 April came to the conclusion that "there still exist a faint hope that the Soviet Union will suggest a discussion of measures for partial disarmament without binding conditions (that is without insisting that these measures be a part of the plan of general disarmament in stages). The West will quite possibly have to wait a long time for this...and western delegates are clearly alarmed by the possibility that while they are far away, public opinion will not be developing to their advantage."

They have good reason to be alarmed. In any case, English public opinion is by no means inclined to a repetition of the West's activity during the period from 1954 to 1958. The impact of peace-loving forces in the West is too great to stop, to say nothing of changing its direction.

The failure of the summit conference will lead to intensified demands not only for calling a new conference but also for a policy which will make agreement possible. In England this pressure becomes stronger and acquires a more radical nature the more slowly the government reacts to it. Within the Laborite party is has already taken on the form of an objection to granting Germany nuclear weapons or to including her in NATO. It may soon be expressed in the demand that England renounce nuclear weapons and from this it is but a short step to a demand that we get out of NATO. This would be done within the framework of a policy requiring that we, with respect both to Russia and the United States, take a position based on the UN Charter in refusing to become an ally of any one party against another.

The forthcoming summit conference may very well be a turning point in postwar history not because of its decisions, which will be of no importance if they are all adopted, but because it will bring these problems into a political argument and will force the western governments to take their own people into account. It may signify the decisive stage in the gradual collapse of the policy based on a balance of forces and in the growth of a politically effective popular demand for a politically effective popular demand for a policy of peaceful co-existence on the basis of the Charter.

THIS WAS AN AGGRESSIVE OPERATION

New Statesman
England

The flight of the U-2 was an aggressive operation which has involved those countries whose bases were used for this flight in the danger of legal retaliatory measures. Washington has not only admitted that it deceived its own allies but also, according to a statement of Mr. Herter, that it was prepared to continue this deception in spite of Soviet threats to take countermeasures against those bases from which the American planes are taking off.

It is difficult to imagine how an alliance can be maintained on such a basis. Even more serious is the danger that such flights, by their very nature, may force the Soviet leaders to think that...a nuclear attack is underway and thus, they might launch the machinery of total war.

In conclusion, the magazine points out that President Eisenhower can extricate himself from the unseemly business of the U-2 only by changing the catastrophic decision of America to renew underground nuclear tests and to proceed to Paris next week with a firm determination to achieve agreement regarding the tests.

THE GUILTY ONES SHOULD BE SEVERELY PUNISHED

Daily Mirror
England

President Eisenhower must severely punish the idiots who are responsible for the flight, with espionage as its goal, of the American airplane into the center of Russia. The newspaper writes that such a flight would have been a display of idiocy and irresponsibility at any time, and two weeks before the beginning of summit talks with Russia is simply madness.

SO, IT'S NOT A THIEF WHO'S TO BLAME, BUT AN HONEST MAN

Daily Worker
England

In an editorial, the newspaper exposes the groundlessness of the proofs of the State Department which has stated that the reason that reconnaissance flights over the territory of the Soviet Union are necessary is the "excessive secrecy of the Russians". According to the new American theory, writes the newspaper, "thieves would not have to steal if people would keep their things locked up." The arguments from Washington, the newspaper points out, are so unconvincing that one can not help but wonder whether or not Eisenhower's advisors are of sound mind. If the militarists are running things in Washington, this poses an even greater danger for England which is a launching platform for American rockets. Some lunatics in the Pentagon may, apparently, take steps which would plunge England into war, without even informing the President. This situation is a convincing argument in favor of refusing American rocket bases to be set up and for our getting out of NATO. There is only one real defense: disarmament and peace.

MR. HERTER, WE ARE OBLIGED TO SAY "NO"

Guardian
England

In order to make flights of a great distance for the purpose of collecting information regarding strategic sites in the Soviet Union, the United States will have to use its bases in Turkey, Pakistan, Norway, and possibly England, West Germany, and other countries. But will the governments of these countries permit their territories to be used for such purposes. The answer, however painful, must be "no". The arguments put forward by Herter will be met with sympathy. But, once caught red-handed, the Americans can not insist on using these bases illegally, and if they do insist, they can not expect support from their allies. At every air base, hospitality in such an event will be considerably less depending upon whether or not there is a reconnaissance aircraft on the field.

Herter, in establishing a need for aerial reconnaissance "for the purpose of warning against sudden attack," confused two things: legal flights along a border and illegal flights over a foreign territory. It is most unfortunate that Herter exposed American intentions so clearly.

TINDER AND SPARKS

Humanite France

An article of Pierre Courtade/KURTAD/ was published in the newspaper under the heading "Before the Summit Conference - Tinder and Sparks." Courtade writes:

It is difficult to predict how the incident involving the American espionage plane shot down in the USSR on 1 May will affect the course of the summit conference. It is possible that, surprised in the act at the place of the crime, the persons responsible for American policy will listen to the voice of reason, but the damage to their prestige may be an equal impetus to force them to take a cynical and arrogant position which may bring about the danger of a break-down in the talks.

In any case, one thing is beyond doubt: this incident has convinced millions of people throughout the world that there is a necessity for a speedy general settlement of international problems. The fate of mankind can no longer depend on the whims of a "secret service" swarming with evil-doers and provocateurs.

One must look the facts in the face: at the present time the situation is such that a world atomic conflict may flare up as a result of an almost fatal combination of a number of circumstances. Let us suppose, for example, that one of those bombers with atomic bombs which day and night flies to the border of the USSR penetrates Soviet air space. We will assume also that this bomber does not answer to a demand to land. It will be shot down by a Soviet rocket.

Inasmuch as official American circles are propogating the theory that victory or defeat in a world war are to be a matter of minutes following the first atomic explosion, there is no doubt that at the same moment other strategic atom bombers will be trying to penetrate the zone of Soviet defenses in order to reach the objectives assigned to them. There is also no doubt that Soviet defense in turn will launch rockets against bases from which the American bombers and rockets took off, bases in Turkey, Pakistan, West Germany, England, Spain, and Italy.

It is not necessary for the United States government to desire aggression for this whole chain of actions to begin. Nothing more is required than a badly understood order, a touch of folly on the part of a commander at some point whose reason is blurred under the influence of the evil psychosis rampant in the Pentagon - and the whole world will be plunged in a war of annihilation....

There is only one way to protect the world from this horrible danger: a total and controlled disarmament and the liquidation of American bases in Europe, in Asia, and along the periphery of the USSR.

BONN BLESSES THE BORDER VIOLATIONS

Frankfurter Rundschau
FRG

As we have learned from reliable sources, in spite of the assertion of the Federal Minister of Defense to the Effect that no reconnaissance flights over the countries of the Eastern bloc would start out from the airfields of West Germany, in actuality such long range reconnaissance flights start out from and are completed on the territory of the Federated Republic. The Frankfurt airfield is used for this purpose. And each time that such planes, including the U-2 type, land, special security measures are put into effect at the field. All German personnel are excluded at such times even though they normally work very closely with the Americans.

Die Welt
FRG

Chancellor Adenauer speaking a few days ago in Dusseldorf not only admitted that he knew about the high altitude flights over various countries which had been going on for a long time, but he exclaimed: "Thank God that the Americans are doing this over Russia."

THE COWARDLY PIRATES

Noticias Dehoy
Cuba

The aggressive act of the USA against the Soviet Union is a crime against humanity. And we are not speaking only of espionage activity. In a world where there are many rocket and nuclear weapons, any isolated

act can precipitate a catastrophe. At the present time there is a criminal lack of responsibility evident, with the result that American war-mongers continue to cast gloom over international policy. Khrushchev has warned that the Soviet Union will not confine itself to destroying planes which violate its boundaries, but that it will destroy the bases from which they take off. This shows that the actions of the Americans are the same the world over, although the results may be different. The military and scientific might of the USSR alone has shown world public opinion what they really are: cowardly pirates.



The aerial pirate, F. Powers

UNITED STATES MILITARY BASES ARE A THREAT TO PEACE

Anexartitos Typos Greece

The incident of the American airplane makes the problem of bases a newly vital one. We are speaking not only of the independence of countries: the danger is being created that a country will be caught up in the differences of the great powers and will become a target for destructive rockets... American bases on foreign territories create a direct threat of world war.

Estia Greece

The espionage flight of the American plane over Soviet territory and the fact that, according to the statement of the United States government, the flight was made without its knowledge, indicate the great threat that faces the countries on whose territory American bases are located... There is danger that some American scoundrel in the Pentagon or Dulles's Central Intelligence Agency might get drunk, or out of hatred of the discharging of tension, and might give the order to carry out aggressive acts against the Soviet Union from the territory of another country. Greece is one of the countries subjected to this threat.

WHAT WOULD THE AMERICANS SAY...

Arbeiter-Zeitung Austria

What would the American public say if Soviet planes flew at high altitude over Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles, taking military reconnaissance photographs? One must remember that a plane that can photograph can also drop an atom bomb.

SMALL COUNTRIES MUST THINK IT OVER CAREFULLY

Kansan Uutiset Finland

The impudence and recklessness of United States policy have proved to be so unique in their way that they could be completely compared with the actions of Hitler, which even in the West were characterized as the actions

of an abnormal person. And all this is taking place now, when the entire world is hopefully awaiting the summit conference that would finally discharge the tension, would alleviate the "cold war," and would provide lasting peace in the entire world.

NEW CRACK IN THE WESTERN WORLD

Suomen Sosialidemokraatti Finland

The position of the western powers in the eyes of world opinion has been dealt an extremely serious blow. Accordingly the Soviet Union, by unmasking the incident of the American plane and by accusing the Americans of provocation and of an attempt at aggression, has considerably risen in the eyes of public opinion. The event is exerting a powerful influence not only in the neutral countries which frequently have had an obstinate attitude to the United States. The consequences of the event are also being felt in the Western countries that are allied with the United States, and their press and public are indignant. The reconnaissance flight by the Americans also inflicted a blow at their allies and contributes to the weakening of the collaboration in the Western world, which already has shown frequent cracks.

SERIOUS ACCUSATION

Svenska Dagbladet Sweden

It is an obvious fact that Washington's attempts to explain the flight of the American plane over Soviet territory as a navigational error or by the pilot's loss of consciousness prove awkward, to put it mildly. Washington is in a difficult situation. After this incident, there are many indications that the "weather" balloons that the Americans previously launched all over the world were also an extremely imprudent step, if not to say naive. It is not without justification that the Russians indicate that the Americans keep airplanes with nuclear charges in a state of constant readiness so that they could raid Soviet areas at the first signal.

ARTFUL DODGING IN ANKARA

Statement by the Turkish Ministry of Internal Affairs

The Turkish Government has not granted authorization to any American aircraft to fly over Soviet territory for purposes of reconnaissance or for other reasons. It is known that this airplane did not enter the Soviet Union by crossing the Turkish border. Properly speaking, the Soviet authorities do not state otherwise. There is no doubt that Turkey can bear responsibility only for its own aircraft when flying outside of its air space. Even if the plane had previously flown over Turkish territory, it still would be completely impossible to accuse Turkey of having responsibility for that fly-over or stop.

IF YOU FORGIVE, YOU'LL BE COMMITTING A CRIME

Imroze
Pakistan

...But what else can be said under these conditions, except that it is not Russia, but America, that wants to drown the world in blood and bury it in ashes. The officer that organized Powers' flight is a criminal not only in the eyes of the United States government, but also an enemy of all of mankind. Forgiving him would be committing a crime.

NORWAY PROMISES TO TAKE STEPS

Statement by the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs

As reported by the Associated Press correspondent in Oslo, the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lange, stated on 9 May that his government is submitting a note to Washington concerning the American plane that was shot down over the Soviet Union. Russia, Minister Lange said, has stated that the American pilot shot down over Russian territory had reported that he was en route to the airfield at Bodø. The Norwegian civil and military authorities know nothing about this matter. Norway will take all steps to introduce clarity into this question... Norway has never authorized foreign aircraft that have violated the air space of other countries to use Norwegian airfields. In a few instances allied aircraft have been authorized to land at Bodø after making reconnaissance flights over the Arctic Ocean, but even then it was always stipulated that these aircraft could not violate the air space of any foreign power and could not even approach the territory of a foreign power.

WE ARE MEMBERS OF SEATO AND ARE DEFENDING ESPIONAGE

Ettelaat

Iran

We are members of CENTO and are allies of America... We cannot fail to express our opinion on the question of the American airplane that was shot down over the territory of the Soviet Union. This matter has attracted the attention of the entire world and is felt to be a very important, and vital, question.

...Is espionage really such a discovery that such an uproar has to be raised about it? Ever since people have been in this world, that is, for several thousand years, espionage has taken on greater and greater importance as human society has developed and progressed...

DECISIVE PROTEST

Islah

Afghanistan

The newspaper contains a statement made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, Muhammed Naim, in which it comments on the fact that Afghanistan will lodge a decisive protest to the American government concerning the incursion of the American plane into the air space of the USSR and Afghanistan, and to the government of Pakistan for granting military bases on its territory for the purpose of perpetrating aggressive acts against neutral Afghanistan. The newspaper states: The Americans can no longer refuse. They cannot deceive public opinion any more. Khrushchev has caught them by the arm.

NEVER BEFORE HAS THE PRESTIGE OF THE UNITED STATES FALLEN SO LOW

New Times of Burma

Burma

Never before has the prestige of the United States fallen so low in the eyes of the nations of the entire world, when the United States government was forced to acknowledge that it has carried out reconnaissance flights over Russia. What nation in the world will seriously believe words about peace or will believe the sincerity of the disarmament plans of the American leaders at the summit conference, when they have been caught red-handed in extremely unscrupulous actions not only against the Russian people, but also against all the peace-loving peoples of the world?

THERE IS NO RESPONSIBILITY IN AMERICA'S RESPONSIBLE CIRCLES

Nav Jivan
India

In America's responsible circles there is no shortage of extremists who would like to disrupt the forthcoming summit conference of chiefs of government and who, for the purpose of fulfilling their plans, organize conspiracies from time to time. In the eyes of the civilized world this action by the United States is a serious blow to American prestige.

Pioneer
India

America's attempts to open up the Soviet skies against the Soviets' will can lead to the most catastrophic consequences.

WHAT DOES THIS SAY ABOUT WASHINGTON'S GOOD INTENTIONS!

Free Press Journal
India

It can hardly be said that the secret sending of an airplane onto Soviet territory almost on the eve of the summit conference attests to the good intentions of the United States with respect to that conference. It is said that the flight was made without the knowledge of the authorities. But if a Soviet plane were detected over the United States, Washington would view this as something much more serious than just a hostile act. What then were the justifications for thinking that Khrushchev would view the violation of Soviet air space by the American plane as something less serious? It does no good for the American State Department to use the "open-skies" proposal as proof of America's good intentions. The situation has taken such a turn that Moscow cannot be blamed for viewing the "open-skies" plan as one obliged to serve primarily as a means of unlimited espionage!

Hindustan Times
India

The explanations that accompanied the acknowledgement by the U.S. State Department that the American plane shot down over Russian territory had been carrying out an espionage mission, discredits it still more. The new incident dramatically emphasizes the danger that nuclear war may flare up accidentally as a result of the incursion of a foreign aircraft.

THE UNITED STATES IS LOSING THE BATTLE FOR MINDS

Times of Indonesia Indonesia

A consequence of the acknowledgement by the United States concerning the flight of the American plane deep into Soviet territory for purposes of espionage is universal global shock. What would the effect have been if the Americans had found out from their press that a Russian military aircraft had been making a reconnaissance flight and had been shot down in the very heart of the country! The hysteria that has arisen would have boiled over into a demand that war be declared against the Soviet Union.

It is unimportant who sent the American plane onto the Soviet territory. What is important is that this could cause grim retribution on the part of the Soviets and could lead to a nuclear catastrophe. The newspaper concludes: The United States has lost another round in the fight for the minds of men, not only in neutral countries, but also in the so-called countries of the free world.

THIS THREATENS THE SECURITY OF JAPAN

Mainichi Japan

The fact became obvious completely unexpectedly for everyone that the United States of America is carrying on intensive espionage work against the Soviet Union. This unconcealed espionage activity of the United States...is cause for unrest. Won't it happen that the so-called thaw or tendency to the lessening of tensions between states that has been observed in recent times will turn back and we will again find ourselves in a situation of an intensified "cold war"? Since time immemorial the United States has been conducting its own policy under the banner of the struggle for the creation of a lasting peace and the achievement of the universal welfare of nations and, at the same time, under this cover, has been engaged in military espionage activities. Thus, the hypocrisy of the conduct of the United States government has become obvious to everyone. The true facts give justification for serious suspicions that the activities of the United States have been aimed at the creation of a situation in the entire world that would contribute to the unleashing of a third world war. One's attention is drawn by the indisputable fact that the American jet fighter that was engaged in collecting espionage information and that was shot down on May 1 in the Soviet Union is exactly the same kind of plane that was based at one time at the Fujisawa airfield. For the Japanese nation this is of very great importance. In recent times there have been indications that similar espionage fighters are in operation in Japan. It has

become obvious that for the past 3-4 years such American jet American fighters have been making flights over the territory of Japan and the areas adjacent to our country. This is not only a question of international importance, but also a question that touches directly upon the interests of the Japanese nation.

BREAKING INTO SOMEBODY ELSE'S HOUSE IS A CRIME

Ethiopian Herald
Ethiopia

Condemning the aggressive act of the rulers of the Pentagon against the USSR, the paper writes that everyone who has had an interest in lessening the international tension has expressed regret on that matter. The incursion into the air space of another country is a crime that is condemned by all sovereign states.

This criminal act was committed by the American authorities not long before the convoking of the summit conference.... It casts a cloud over the international situation before that conference at a time when the nations of the entire world are expressing the hope that the conference will lay the path for the establishment of peace in the entire world.

WORDS AND DEEDS

Al-Alam
Syrian area of United Arab Republic

The incident of the sending of an American plane into the Soviet Union has aroused the public opinion in the entire world. On one hand Washington says that it is striving to alleviate international tension, and, on the other it sends airplanes into the air space of the Soviet Union with the aim of espionage, thus violating the most elementary principles of international collaboration. This incident, the paper points out, has evoked the condemnation by the nations of the entire world. The United States is conducting a similar policy with respect to the Arab countries. It is pretending that it is protecting the rights of small nations, and at the same time is driving millions of Arabs from their lawfully-owned lands.

BLOW AT THE PRESTIGE OF THE UNITED STATES

Al-Amal Tunisia

Every state has the right to take steps to provide for its own security. However, the steps that take the form of violation of the borders or air space of other countries are fraught with serious consequences. The incident of the downed plane is a catastrophe of United States diplomacy, since the right hand in Washington did not know what the left hand in Turkey and Pakistan was doing.

GUILTY CONSCIENCE

"As reported by Tokyo Radio, at a session of a special committee of the lower house of the Japanese Diet which is examining the new security treaty, inquiries concerning the American U-2 plane were made by a representative of the Socialist Party, Ichio Asukata, and a representative of the Democratic Socialists, Toshiko Matsuo.

"In answering their inquiries, the government made the following interesting statement:

"If, as a result of the incursion into the Soviet Union of American military planes based in Japan, the American military bases in Japan are subjected to attack by the Soviet Union, Japan will be guided by Article 5 of the new security treaty and will retaliate in the interests of self-defense."

The impudent statement of the Japanese government which is reported above will undoubtedly attract the attention of world opinion. Casting off the mask of "champions of defense" behind which the Japanese militarists have concealed themselves up to now, they now appear in their true guise of inveterate aggressors and have revealed the thoroughly predatory nature of the "security treaty" that they have concluded with the United States.

The extremist rulers of Japan have gone so far as to dare to threaten the Soviet Union. Like a person with a guilty conscience they now acknowledge themselves that the American military planes based in Japan are intended for incursions into the USSR. But that is not all. The Japanese government states that it "will retaliate" if the Soviet Union takes steps to protect its territory against the piratical raids of aggressors. This kind of statement cannot be ignored by Soviet people.

The Japanese militarists have gone too far in their collaboration with the American imperialists who have converted Japan into their military beachhead, into a hornet's nest of espionage and provocations against the states that are neighbors of that country. In particular, the U-2 bandit planes, one of which was shot down by a Soviet rocket, make wide use of Japanese bases.

The deputies in the opposition demanded that the Kishi government put an end to the use of Japan as a base for espionage and diversionary operations against neighboring countries.

The Japanese government attempted to pretend that it had known nothing of the espionage activities of the Americans.

This "naivete" can be intended only for simpletons. Can it be that the Japanese government does not know the institution called the "Yoshida Group" attached to the research bureau of the Japanese Cabinet of Ministers, which institution is located in Tokyo at Meguroku Kamimeguro 7, Tome, 100? Well, a detailed description of the activities of this institution can be found in the 13 May 1960 issue of the magazine Shukan Surira.

The "Yoshida Group," that newspaper writes, was created within the framework of a "research bureau" of the Japanese Cabinet of Ministers in July 1953 with the aim of collecting and compiling intelligence information concerning the Soviet Union and China for the American Armed forces and for the Japanese government. The creation of that institution was directed by the inveterate American intelligence agent C. D. Jackson--member of the United States Central Intelligence Agency headed by Allen Dulles. The forty workers in the "group" are inveterate military intelligence agents with pre-war experience. Their tasks include the collection of military information with the aid of Japanese agents and the preparation of operational and strategic maps of the neighboring socialist states. In 1960 the Yoshida Group" received the tremendous sum of 267 million yen from the Japanese state budget and 60 million yen from the American Embassy in Tokyo.

The espionage data and maps prepared by that group are microfilmed in a special photographic laboratory located in the residence of Prime Minister Kishi. They are sent to Washington together with other intelligence data.

Pressed to the wall by incontrovertible facts, the Kishi government found nothing better than to follow in the Americans' steps once more. It is attempting to "calm" public opinion by cynical expatiations to the effect that encroachments into the limits of other states for purposes of military espionage are quite legal or, in any case, are not dangerous for the country!

This position of the government has evoked a storm of indignation on the part of the Japanese public, which now sees more clearly than ever before the aggressive nature of military collaboration with the United States.

The new unmasking of the scandalous activities of the Kishi government takes on an especially acute nature insofar as it coincides with a moment of extreme importance for Japan, when the Cabinet of Ministers is attempting to drag through the Diet the new "treaty of security" that it had signed with the United States. As a result of debates in the Diet, the prestige of the champions of an American-Japanese military alliance is falling day by day. This is recognized even by American political circles. The correspondent of the newspaper Mainichi Daily News reports from Washington: "Government circles in the United States have confirmed that U-2 aircraft similar to the one shot down in Russia are based in Japan and it is no longer a secret that these planes have been used in intelligence operations... Employees of the Japanese Embassy and officials of the United States State Department are afraid, as a result, that the Japanese nation will no longer believe the statements of the American and Japanese governments that the new treaty of security is purely defensive in nature..."

Wasn't it under the influence of their failure, and losing the ground under their feet, as well as their self-possession, that the Japanese militarists came out with such a bellicose declaration? A Japanese proverb goes "In desperation, a person caught in thievery becomes a pirate."

It would not harm the ruling circles of Japan to remember the recent lessons of history. The policy that they are now following has already led their country once to a national catastrophe. Who better than the Japanese knows the force of the destructive means of modern warfare, on the brink of which this militaristic policy is again placing Japan? Meanwhile, resorting to threats, the Japanese militarists pretend that they have no inkling of what a counterblow with the aid of present-day weapons would mean for a densely-populated island country.

People who like to play with fire ought to know that the Soviet Union has at its disposal everything that it needs to beat out of them, once and for all, their eagerness to test the solidity of the Soviet borders. This must be well understood by certain of the immoderately militaristic gentlemen in Tokyo.

(Pravda, 14 May 1960)



Communications concerning the historic decisions of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and about the report and concluding speech by N. S. Khrushchev, occupied the most prominent place on the pages of newspapers in all countries and of all political leanings.

THE WRATHFUL WORD OF SOVIET PEOPLE!

Shame to the aggressors!

At crowded meetings held throughout the country, the Soviet public has indignantly branded as a shame the aggressive actions of the American ruling circles.

The wrath of the nation is justified!

History has never before known an instance when "cloak and dagger" methods were so cynically and so impudently elevated to the rank of an official policy, as is now being done by the United States of America. Irrefutable proof of this is the predatory raids by American pirates into the air space of the Soviet Union. Irrefutable proof of this is the unprecedentedly cynical statement of the United States Secretary of State C. Herter, who actually attempted to legalize such acts of international brigandage.

There is nowhere to hide from this proof. In the eyes of all the world, the ruling circles of the United States are nailed to the pillory.

The speeches by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers USSR, N. S. Khrushchev, and the note of protest sent by the Soviet government to the government of the United States on this matter, have unmasked the completely inept maneuvers of the ruling circles of the United States which are attempting to justify their aggressive actions with respect to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet public realizes that such provocations, which are extremely dangerous in and of themselves for the cause of peace, are especially intolerable now, when the days are numbered until the beginning of the Paris summit conference.

Whoever is not blind can see that people who violate the borders of the Soviet Union and those who stand behind them were attempting by their shameful actions to poison the atmosphere on the eve of a most important international conference, to throw the world back to the worse times of the "cold war."

Soviet people place in the same category the predatory raid of the aerial pirate and the recent series of summonses by high officials of the United States to carry out the bankrupt policy of "balancing on the brink of war." Wasn't this flight--in the event of its favorable completion--supposed to reinforce the claims of certain American strategists to the "position of power" which has long since gone with the wind?

The provocateurs flew high, but they sat down low! The fearful combat equipment created by the Soviet nation and guided by people educated by the glorious Communist Party caught up with the aerial pirate. The punishing hand of the Soviet nation will catch up with every other provocateur, no matter how high up he climbs. Under the fragments of the Lockheed U-2 plane the hopes of certain Washington politicians to revive the corpse of the policy of "position of power" found their inglorious end.

Soviet people today tell those who like all kinds of military exploits: The USSR will not tolerate such aggressive acts and in the event that they are repeated it will take the most decisive retaliatory steps: "And we will continue to destroy all aggressors who raise their hand against us!" This warning by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev has found the ardent support of the entire Soviet nation.

The fearful warning to the aggressors also pertains to those countries which, because of their military obligations to various military blocs, are aiding and abetting the provocateurs. If these countries offer their territory for aggressive acts against the USSR, retribution will also inevitably overtake them.

The frank and clear position of the Soviet government in this question was met with satisfaction among broad segments of the international public.

The peoples of all countries accepted with satisfaction the words of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev that "we are going to the conference in Paris with a pure heart, and good intentions, and we are not sparing any efforts to achieve a mutually acceptable agreement." If, by their provocative acts, the imperialists were planning on deflecting the Soviet Union from the highroad of the struggle for peace, they made a grievous miscalculation. The Soviet Union will continue, in the future, to apply all its efforts to achieving a peaceful, intelligent solution of the fundamental problems of present-day life.

Soviet people these days are unanimously branding the American aggressors with shame, and are newly expressing their limitless support of the policy of the Soviet government, which is decisively defending the cause of universal peace and international security.

(From editorial in Pravda, 14 May 1960)

WE APPROVE OF THE POLICY OF THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT AND
WE SHALL NOT TOLERATE ENCROACHMENTS ON OUR LAND!

Speaking at various meetings, Soviet citizens made the following
decisive and firm statements.

Lathe operator at the Moscow "Dinamo" [Dynamo] Plant imeni Kirov,
V. Smekalin:

The warmongers should be curbed. The impudent members of the U. S.
State Department should be forced to deal with the laws of other countries,
with the striving of all nations, including the American nation, toward
peace.

Electrical fitter Rolin, of the Moscow Ball-Bearing Plant:

I warmly support the peaceful foreign policy of our government. We
are now living very well. The laws adopted by the Fifth Session of the
Supreme Soviet of the USSR also are aimed at improving the life of Soviet
people. And we shall let no one spoil our happiness, our peaceful labor.
No one! And if impudent provocateurs attempt to do so, we won't lack for
bravery. We know well how to defend our Motherland!

Boiler worker at the Kiev "Leninskaya kuznitsa" [Lenin Smithy] Plant,
V. Chernishenko:

In unanimously approving the wise foreign and domestic policy of the
Soviet government and the measures that it has taken in connection with
the hostile provocation, we demand that the provocateurs of a new war be
pilloried and that the question of the aggressive sortie of the American
imperialists be brought to the consideration of the Security Council of
the United Nations or the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Technologist Bruno Zakis, of the Riga Railroad-Car-Construction Plant:

Our hearts filled over with wrath and indignation when we learned of
the sortie of the American aggressors. Their carrion vulture was examining
and photographing our military and industrial installations. But our rocket
reached the pirate. And that's the way it will always be if anyone dares
to violate the sacred Soviet border.

Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, I. Ordzhonikidze, Miner at the Tkibul Mine imeni Stalin:

We know what war is and the tremendous unhappiness it brings. We won't stint our efforts, and will work in the name of strengthening the peace, but if war provocateurs lose their head completely, then let them take the blame for it themselves!

I. Zhdanov, fitter at the "Krasnyy Aksay" Red Aksay Plant (Rostov-na-Donu):

We were made deeply indignant by the impudent actions of the American militarists and by the cynical statements of the American official figures who attempted to justify espionage and diversion. We are proud of our great victories and we won't let anyone stand in our way in building communism.

Technologist Kazakova, Moscow Light-Duty Automobile Plant:

The Secretary of State of the United States and the president of the United States himself, D. Eisenhower, stated that the United States government will continue in the future to carry out espionage flights onto our territory. We answer them: We've shot down your reconnaissance planes and we'll continue to shoot them down. You're playing with fire, you gentlemen in the American government!

Hero of Socialist Labor A. Serkov, steel worker at the Stalingrad "Krasnyy Oktyabr'" Red October Metallurgical Plant:

The second spring of the seven-year plan brought us many joys. One of them was the abolition of taxes from workers and employees, and the rapid completion of the changeover to the shortened workday. We solemnly swear to defend our Motherland, our happiness. The metallurgists of our enterprise were deeply enraged by the shameless act of aggression against our country. In their hatred for us, the reactionary circles of America have gone to the point of foolhardiness. This act is no accident. The Soviet government has seriously warned the hotheaded American imperialists and their henchmen in certain countries adjacent to us. And we entirely and completely support and approve the decisive measures to curb the aggressors. It is not in vain that we built up our beloved Stalingrad from the ruins and the ashes. It won't be in ruins a second time!

Stonemason A. Chartanova (city of Frunze):

Our country is advancing to communism in seven-league boots and no intrigues or provocations by enemies can stop that firm advance. We have tried to live in peace with all nations, but if need be we are always ready to give the proper rebuff to any aggressor. We have made this clear to the

hotheads in the Pentagon who sent their aerial pirates into the Soviet skies. Indignation filled our hearts when we learned that they are attempting to "legalize" their espionage activities. You'd better stop your intrigues, gentlemen! Don't provoke us! The Soviet Armed Forces, fulfilling the instructions of the Motherland, are vigilantly protecting peaceful labor.

Ivan Topor, tractor operator on the Kolkhoz imeni Michurin (Tiraspol'skiy Rayon, Moldavian SSR):

Feelings of indignation were evoked in every honest person by the vile diversionary action of the American militarists. But these gentlemen had better mark well that Soviet people will not tolerate such provocations! The saying is right: "Who comes to us with a sword will perish by the sword."

Tillya Mirkhaitov, engineer at the Tashkent Diesel-Locomotive and Railroad-Car Repair Plant imeni October Revolution:

We won't let the American pirates fly over our peaceful cities. We shall force them to stop their delirious plans. Now, when American imperialism has taken off its mask, our country has acquired new friends. All nations now see clearly the bestial grin of the lovers of the "cold war."

Lavreneva, leader of a communist labor brigade at a plant producing electrical-calibration instruments (Krasnodar):

We assure our beloved Soviet government of our full support of the position taken by it: it is necessary to curb the provocateurs.

I. Lomov, submariner (Pacific Ocean Fleet):

The imperialists are not quieting down, but are continuing to rattle their sabers. Therefore we must constantly increase our combat readiness and strengthen our discipline. Let the American aggressors know that Soviet servicemen are always on the alert and no intrigues of bandits will remain unpunished. We hail the words of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, spoken during his talk with Soviet and foreign journalists: "And we will continue to destroy all aggressors who raise their hand against us."

THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE WAS TORPEDOED BY REACTIONARY CIRCLES OF THE UNITED STATES AS A RESULT OF THE PROVOCATORY FLIGHTS OF AMERICAN MILITARY PLANES OVER THE SOVIET UNION.

LET THE DISGRACE AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS REST WITH THOSE WHO HAVE PROCLAIMED A BANDIT POLICY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION.

STATEMENT BY N. S. KHRUSHCHEV,
CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS USSR

to President De Gaulle of France, Prime
Minister Macmillan of Great Britain, and
President Eisenhower of the United States
of America, on 16 May 1960

The following is the statement made by N. S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers USSR, on 16 May at a preliminary meeting at which C. De Gaulle, President of the French Republic, H. Macmillan, Prime Minister of Great Britain, D. Eisenhower, President of the United States of America, and N. S. KHRUSHCHEV, Chairman of the Council of Ministers USSR, took part, and which was held in Paris for purposes of coming to an agreement on the summit conference.

Others participating in this meeting were M. Debre and Couvre de Murville, of France, Selwyn Lloyd and F. Khoyer-Millar [sp?], of Great Britain, C. Herter and T. Gates, of the United States, and A. A. Gromyko and R. Ya. Malinovskiy, of the Soviet Union.

KHRUSHCHEV STATEMENT

President de Gaulle.
Prime Minister Macmillan.
President Eisenhower.

Permit me to address you with the following statement:

A provocative act is known to have been committed recently with regard to the Soviet Union by the American Air Force. It consisted in the fact that on May 1 a United States military reconnaissance aircraft invaded the Soviet Union while executing a specific espionage mission to obtain information on military and industrial installations on the territory of the USSR. After the aggressive purpose of its flight became known, the aircraft was shot down by units of the Soviet rocket troops. Unfortunately, this was not the only case of aggressive and espionage actions by the United States Air Force against the Soviet Union.

Naturally, the Soviet Government was compelled to give appropriate qualification to these acts and show up their treacherous nature, which is incompatible with the elementary requirements of the maintenance of normal relations between states in time of peace, not to speak of its being in gross contradiction to the task of lessening international tension and creating the necessary conditions for the fruitful work of the summit conference. This was done both in my speeches at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and in a special note of protest sent to the United States Government.

At first, the United States State Department launched the ridiculous version that the American plane had violated the borders of the USSR by accident and had no espionage or sabotage assignments. When irrefutable facts clearly proved the falsity of this version, the United States Department on May 7, and then the Secretary of State on May 9, stated on behalf of the United States Government that American aircraft made incursions into the Soviet Union with military espionage aims in accordance with a program endorsed by the United States Government and by the President personally.

Two days later, President Eisenhower himself confirmed that execution of flights of American aircraft over the territory of the Soviet Union had been and remained the calculated policy of the United States. The same was declared by the United States Government in a note to the

Soviet Government on May 12. Thereby the United States Government is crudely flouting the universally accepted standards of international law and the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter, under which stands the signature of the United States of America also.

INDIGNATION WAS VOICED

The Soviet Government and the entire people of the Soviet Union met these declarations of leading statesmen of the USA with indignation, as did every honest man and woman in the world who displays concern for the destinies of peace.

Now, at a time when the leaders of the Governments of the four powers are arriving in Paris to take part in the conference, the question arises of how is it possible productively to negotiate and examine the questions confronting the conference when the United States Government and the President himself have not only failed to condemn this provocative act -- the intrusion of the American military aircraft into the Soviet Union -- but on the contrary, have declared that such actions will continue to be state policy of the USA with regard to the Soviet Union.

How can agreement be sought on the various issues that require a settlement with the purpose of easing tension and removing suspicion and mistrust among states when the Government of one of the great powers declares bluntly that its policy is intrusion into the territory of another great power with espionage and sabotage purposes and, consequently, the heightening of tension in relations among states?

It is clear that the declaration of such a policy, which can be pursued only when states are in a state of war, dooms the summit conference to complete failure in advance.

We, naturally, take note of the declaration by the United States Government of such a policy and state that in the event of a repeated intrusion by American aircraft into the Soviet Union we shall shoot these planes down.

The Soviet Government reserves the right in all such cases to take the appropriate retaliatory measures against those who violate the state sovereignty of the USSR and engage in such espionage and sabotage regarding the Soviet Union. The USSR Government reiterates that, with regard to those states that, by making their territory available for American military bases, become accomplices in aggressive actions against the USSR, the appropriate measures will also be taken, not excluding a blow against these bases.

In this connection it is impossible to ignore the statement by President Eisenhower to the effect that under the threat of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic he could not take part in the summit conference, though what he called a threat was merely the declaration by the Soviet Government of its firm resolve to do away with the vestiges of war in Europe and conclude a peace, and thus to bring the situation -- particularly in West Berlin -- in line with the requirements of life and the interests of insuring the peace and security of the European nations.

How then can the Soviet Government take part in negotiations under conditions of an actual threat emanating from the United States Government which declared that it would continue to violate the USSR borders and that American aircraft had flown and would continue to fly over the Soviet Union's territory? The United States Government has thereby declared its intention to continue unheard of and unprecedented actions directed against the sovereignty of the Soviet state, which constitutes a sacred and immutable principle in international relations.

'OVERT AND HONEST POLICY'

From all this it follows that for the success of the conference it is necessary that the Governments of all the powers represented at it pursue an overt and honest policy and solemnly declare that they will not undertake any actions against one another which amount to violation of the state sovereignty of the powers.

This means that if the United States Government is really ready to cooperate with the Governments of the other powers in the interests of maintaining peace and strengthening confidence between states it must, firstly, condemn the inadmissible provocative actions of the United States Air Force with regard to the Soviet Union and, secondly, refrain from continuing such actions and such a policy against the USSR in the future.

It goes without saying that in this case the United States Government cannot fail to call to strict account those who are directly guilty of the deliberate violation by American aircraft of the state borders of the USSR.

Until this is done by the United States Government, the Soviet Government sees no possibility for productive negotiations with the United States Government at the summit conference. It cannot be among the participants in negotiations where one of them has made treachery the basis of his policy with regard to the Soviet Union.

If, under the obtaining conditions, the Soviet Government were to participate in negotiations clearly doomed to failure, it would thereby become a party to the deception of the nations, which it has no intention of becoming.

It stands to reason that if the United States Government were to declare that in the future the United States will not violate the state borders of the USSR with its aircraft, that it deplores the provocative actions undertaken in the past and will punish those directly guilty of such actions, which would assure the Soviet Union equal conditions with other powers, I, as head of the Soviet Government, would be ready to participate in the conference and exert all efforts to contribute to its success.

As a result of the provocative flights of American military aircraft and, above all, as a result of such provocative flights being declared national policy of the United States of America for the future regard to the Socialist countries, new conditions have appeared in international relationships.

Naturally, under such conditions, we cannot work at the conference; we cannot because we see the positions from which it is intended to talk with us: under the threat of aggressive reconnaissance flights. Espionage flights are known to be undertaken with reconnaissance purposes with the object of starting a war. We, therefore, reject the conditions the United States of America is creating for us. We cannot participate in any negotiations and in the solution of even those questions which have already matured; we cannot because we see that the United States has no desire to reach a settlement.

'DECEPTION IS RULED OUT'

It is considered to be a leader in the Western countries. Therefore, the conference would at present be a useless waste of time and a deception of the public opinion of all countries. I repeat, we cannot under the obtaining situation take part in the negotiations.

We want to participate in the talks only on an equal footing, with equal opportunities for both one and the other side.

We consider it necessary for the peoples of all the countries of the world to understand us correctly. The Soviet Union is not renouncing efforts to achieve agreement. And we are sure that reasonable agreements are possible, but, evidently, not at this but at another time.

For this, however, it is necessary first of all that the United States admits that the provocative policy it has declared by a policy of "unrestricted" flights over our country is to be condemned and that it rejects it and admits that it has committed aggression and admits that it regrets it.

The Soviet Government is deeply convinced that if not this Government of the United States then another, if not another then the next one would understand that there is no other way out but peaceful coexistence of two systems, capitalist and Socialist. Either peaceful coexistence or war, which will result in a disaster for those who are pursuing aggressive policy.

PEACEFUL LINKS STRESSED

Therefore, we think that some time should be allowed to elapse so that the questions that have arisen should settle and so that those responsible for the determining of the policies of a country would analyze what kind of responsibility they placed upon themselves, having declared an aggressive course in their relations with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. Therefore, we would think that there is no better way out than to postpone the conference of the heads of government for approximately six to eight months.

The Soviet Union on its part, will not lessen its effort to reach an agreement. I think that public opinion will correctly understand our position, will understand that we were deprived of the possibility to participate in these negotiations.

However, we firmly believe in the necessity of peaceful coexistence because to lose faith in peaceful coexistence would mean to doom mankind to war, would mean to agree with the inevitability of wars, and under the circumstances it is known what disasters would be brought by a war to all nations on our planet.

I wish to address the people of the United States of America. I was in the USA and met there with various sections of the American people and I am deeply convinced that all the strata of the American people do not want war. An exception constitutes but a small frantic group in the Pentagon and, supporting it, militarist quarters that benefit from the armaments race, gaining huge profits, which disregard the interests of the American people and in general the interests of the peoples of all countries, and which pursue an adventurous policy.

We express gratitude to President de Gaulle for the hospitality and rendering us the possibility to meet in Paris, the capital of France. We also appreciate the efforts of the Government of Great Britain and Prime Minister Macmillan personally.

We regret that this meeting has been torpedoed by the reactionary circles of the United States of America by provocative flights of American military planes over the Soviet Union.

We regret that this meeting has not brought about the results expected by all nations of the world.

Let the disgrace and responsibility for this rest with those who have proclaimed a bandit policy toward the Soviet Union.

ISSUE OF EISENHOWER VISIT

As is known, President Eisenhower and I have agreed to exchange visits. Last September, I made such a visit to the USA. We were greatly gratified by that visit, the meetings and talks we had in the United States, and for all this we expressed our appreciation.

The President of the USA was to make a return visit to our country. Our agreement was that he would come to us on June 10. And we were being prepared to accord a good welcome to the high guest.

Unfortunately, as a result of provocative and aggressive actions against the USSR, there have been created now such conditions when we have been deprived of a possibility to receive the President with the proper cordiality with which the Soviet people receive welcome guests. At present, we cannot express such cordiality to the President of the USA since, as the result of provocative flights of American military planes with reconnaissance purposes, there are created conditions clearly unfavorable for this visit.

The Soviet people cannot and do not want to be sly. That is why we believe that at present the visit of the President of the USA to the Soviet Union should be postponed and agreement should be reached as to the time of the visit when the conditions for the visit would mature. Then the Soviet people will be able to express proper cordiality and hospitality toward the high guest representing the great power with which we sincerely want to live in peace and friendship.

I believe that both President Eisenhower and the American people will understand me correctly.

The Soviet Government states that on its part it will continue to do its utmost to facilitate the relaxation of international tension, to facilitate the solution of problems that still divide us today. In that we shall be guided by the interests of strengthening the great cause of peace on the basis of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Thus, readers, that which was secret has been revealed. World Society has had its weighty word, and sat in angry judgement on the initiators of the provocation. The aggressors have been nailed to the pillory.

The conscience of the peoples demands:

The cessation of this unreasoning playing with fire!

That an end be put to the policy of provocations against the cause of peace!

- E N D -